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Pt. 1-2

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U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS

(Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and Friends of
British Guiana)

PART 2

U.S. Congress House Committee on Un-American
Activities

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

NOVEMBER 14 AND 15, 1962

INCLUDING INDEX

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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Pt. 2

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, *Chairman*

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri

CLYDE DOYLE, California

EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana

WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia

GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio

AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

DONALD C. BRUCE, Indiana

HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, Wisconsin

FRANCIS J. McNAMARA, *Director*

FRANK S. TAVENNER, Jr., *General Counsel*

ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

II

3/1/63

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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(a) Un-American activities.

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* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS

(Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and Friends of British Guiana)

Part 2

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER, 14, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

AFTERNOON SESSION—Continued¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Also present: Representative Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Louis J. Russell and Neil E. Wetterman, investigators.

Mr. MOULDER. Call the next witness, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Sidney J. Gluck.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Gluck, do you solemnly swear that the testimony that you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GLUCK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY J. GLUCK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. GLUCK. Sidney J. Gluck.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GLUCK. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

¹ At the conclusion of Mrs. del Villar's testimony, Sidney J. Gluck was called as the next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Gluck, have you also used the name Isadore Gluck?

Mr. GLUCK. Before answering any questions, I should like to say that in view of the fact that my name has come up so strongly and prominently during the examination of the previous witness, it is only correct for me to tell you now that my association with this committee began long after it was formed. I had nothing to do with the formation of this committee. I never directed this committee. I never gathered together the people who were involved in this committee. That I was even——

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I think we should proceed in regular order.

Mr. GLUCK. The Honorable Mr. Scherer may have left——

Mr. MOULDER. We are going to get into that, Mr. Gluck, I am sure.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask for regular order.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the question pending?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you used the name Isadore Gluck, as well?

Mr. GLUCK. The name Isadore Gluck is on my birth certificate. It was an error on the part of the clerks. It happened to have been my father's name. And I had quite a time when I applied for a passport, in getting all the papers corrected, with the birth certificate people in Brooklyn.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present residence, Mr. Gluck?

Mr. GLUCK. 241 Central Park West, in New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. GLUCK. Grammar school, high school, College of the City of New York.

Mr. NITTLE. When were you born, and where?

Mr. GLUCK. Brooklyn, 1916.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your occupation?

Mr. GLUCK. Textile technician.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. GLUCK. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you acted or served in that capacity?

Mr. GLUCK. I believe since April or May of this year. I don't know whether it was the end of April or the first part of May.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Melitta del Villar?

Mr. GLUCK. I met her about that time.

Mr. NITTLE. It is our information that the finances of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee have been jointly entrusted to Melitta del Villar, Albert S. Baker, and yourself. Is that correct?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, I act as treasurer, and we sign checks together, and I act as a treasurer should act.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of an authorization previously marked for identification as del Villar Exhibit No. 14 (see p. 1917), addressed to The Amalgamated Bank of New York, authorizing withdrawals from the account of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, under the signatures of any two of the three named persons whose signatures appear upon the exhibit, namely, Chairman Melitta del Villar, Vice-chairman Albert S. Baker, and Treasurer Sidney J. Gluck.

The date of change of signature is noted thereon as April 3, 1962. Is that your signature appearing there?

Mr. GLUCK. That is my signature.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you advise us of the amount of money that has passed through the treasury of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee since your employment as treasurer to date?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, may I say something about this document which I am holding?

Mr. MOULDER. What do you wish to explain about it?

Mr. GLUCK. Why, yes. This is a signature card, apparently, when I undertook to act as treasurer—the funds were, had been, and continued to be, at The Amalgamated Bank of New York.

Now, since I was coming in to act as treasurer, naturally, they wanted my signature. The committee would want to have my signature on checks. So I agreed that I would sign checks, and that the checks would be signed by two people, not just by one.

Now, previously, the checks were signed by Melitta del Villar and Albert Baker, apparently. But since I came into the picture, it was any two of us. And that is all this document means.

Mr. NITTLE. I assume that you are acquainted with Dr. Louis Miller, the medical director of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Mr. GLUCK. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Dr. Miller?

Mr. GLUCK. I have known him for a number of years.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know how long Dr. Miller has been associated with the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, to the best of my recollection, and this would be hearsay, from having been told, it was almost from the start.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you brought into the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee by Dr. Louis Miller?

Mr. GLUCK. Dr. Louis Miller is the man who pressed me to come in and to help with the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Dr. Louis Miller to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I do not know Dr. Louis Miller to be a member of the Communist Party, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you known him to be a member of the Communist Party at some time?

Mr. GLUCK. I have said I have not. That should be sufficient.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Celia Saperstein?

Mr. GLUCK. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. When you refer to the fifth amendment, are you invoking the self-incrimination clause?

Mr. GLUCK. That is correct, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Mrs. Saperstein assist the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee at a fund-raising affair given at Camp Midvale, New Jersey, during the past summer?

Mr. GLUCK. I take the same position.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a brochure marked Gluck Exhibit No. 1, which was issued in the summer of 1962 by World Fellowship, Inc., including World Fellowship of Faiths, 66 Edgewood Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut, concerning its alleged Summer Vacation and Conference Center being held at Conway, New Hampshire. Dr. Willard Uphaus is listed as executive director.

You will note that Sidney Gluck is listed as a member of the board of trustees of World Fellowship.

How long have you served in the capacity of trustee of World Fellowship Inc.?

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 1

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

REVEREND GEORGE A. ACKERLY, *Chairman*

DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE

MRS. ROYAL W. FRANCE

SIDNEY GLUCK

ALEX MUNSELL

WILLARD UPHAUS

CYRIL PHILIP

LOUIS ZEMEL

ADVISORY COUNCIL

REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY, *New York*

REV. HAROLD J. BASS, *Washington State*

DR. HARVEY F. BATTY, *Montana*

CHARLES J. COE, *New York*

DR. HARRY COHEN, *New York*

REV. KENNETH R. FORBES, *Pennsylvania*

DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE, *New York*

PAULINE P. GARVIN, *New York*

LAURENCE J. JONES, *Mississippi*

REV. RICHARD R. KEITHAHN, *India*

REV. WILLIAM H. PERKINS, *New York*

DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS, *California*

JOHN PRATT WHITMAN, *New Hampshire*

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, *Executive Director*

OLA H. UPHAUS, *Assistant to the Director*

Believing in a movement that works for worldwide friendship and a peaceful existence for all peoples, without barriers of race, nationality, faith or political system.

I wish to —

- ☐ Make a contribution of
☐ \$5 ☐ \$10 ☐ \$15 ☐ \$25 ☐
☐ Receive full information about World Fellowship's 1962 summer program in New Hampshire.

Name

Street Zone

City State

*Orig. / World Fellowship, Inc.
 (Summer 1962)*

Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? MALACHI 2:10



WORLD FELLOWSHIP, INC.

INCLUDING

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE
 NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

SPruce 6-3334

SUMMER VACATION AND
 CONFERENCE CENTER
 CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Hickory 7-2280



WFC

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 1—(Continued)

DEFINITION

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS is a movement open to people of all faiths, races, nationalities and social convictions who seek to understand one another's religions and cultures and to strengthen one another in working toward peace, brotherhood and plenty for all.

OBJECTIVES

The immediate objectives of World Fellowship are (1) to keep open the channels of free discussion in the U. S. and among peoples of all lands, (2) to clarify the teachings of the various faiths and show their relation to man's strivings for the abundant life, (3) to bring together from various parts of the world the representatives of different beliefs in order to strengthen and coordinate their efforts.

Since developments based on atomic science make possible a new era of abundance for mankind, World Fellowship seeks a fresh approach to our economic and social structure. Basic economic changes are inevitable and it is the concern of World Fellowship that these changes shall advance mankind toward a more ethical society and a world in which all peoples and nations live in harmony as brothers and neighbors.

SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES

(1) The Fellowship believes that the confidence born of first-hand contacts is essential to cooperation for peace and progress; that approaching by diverse routes the experience of friendly living together brings a sense of sympathy in a common cause.

(2) A faith or a deep ethical conviction includes more than a program of action. It includes also a satisfying and ennobling conception of the nature of the universe and man's role in history. There is power in the quality of being as well as in organized effort.

(3) Non-sectarian and dedicated to the broad interests of the people, the Fellowship urges its supporters to join the organizations of their respective faiths or of their choice for the purposes of study and action.

(4) World Fellowship supports the right of self-determination of all peoples, working in harmony through trade and cultural exchange, and making full use of natural wealth and skill to abolish illiteracy, poverty and disease.

(5) Informed public opinion, the free exercise of conscience, respect for the individual, open discussion and peaceable assembly are the necessary means to liberty and justice. World Fellowship, or its local chapters and councils, may provide open forums on controversial questions without committing the Fellowship or any of its members to a particular position.

(6) World Fellowship does not seek to create a new faith or convert its supporters from one faith to another. We seek the common ground of all faiths, looking toward worldwide human unity. We urge all to show how their faiths and social convictions can help solve the problems of war, hunger, disease, poverty and bigotry. We must struggle to meet man's spiritual and economic needs irrespective of his accepting a particular faith.

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 1—(Continued)

Some Things You Can Do For World Fellowship, and For Humanity

Work for disarmament — general, complete and controlled, with the banishment of nuclear weapons from the earth. Work diligently for a peace economy in which our precious resources are used to meet the needs of the people of the world.

Come to the active support of those who suffer because they uphold the Bill of Rights. Work for the repeal of thought control laws and the abolition of Federal and state inquisitorial committees. Resist all encroachments on civil and religious liberty.

Work for the implementation of the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court ruling on desegregation. Support movements to make civil rights an issue at all levels. Civil rights and civil liberty are indivisible.

Meet and share views with the representatives of other faiths. World Fellowship includes the World Fellowship of Faiths. The West must understand the faiths by which hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other lands live. These faiths have a direct bearing on political action and peaceful relations.

Encourage the exchange of literature and visiting delegations between the United States and other countries.

Open your home for an informal friendly meeting at which persons of diverse faiths, nationalities, races and political philosophies exchange views and discover the common bonds of peace and brotherhood.

Arrange receptions in your home or at convenient centers at which artists, scientists, writers, religious, political and labor leaders from other countries are introduced and given opportunity to entertain or speak about the cultures and problems of their people.

Find out from the national office who in your community or city have been at World Fellowship or who have in other ways indicated an interest in the movement. Bring them together to see if they would like to work on some specific project.

Plan now to spend your 1962 vacation at World Fellowship Center in New Hampshire. Write for information about program and recreational facilities.

Make a generous contribution to World Fellowship, a vital work for world friendship and peace that needs your support.

If you do not go abroad in 1962 let us bring the world to you at WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, Conway, New Hampshire.

JUNE 18 — SEPTEMBER 3

What Guests Say--

"I was particularly impressed with the free and open discussion, friendly even when antagonistic views were being expressed. This I can only compare with my experience at the Fabian Summer Schools in England and with nothing I have known in this country."

"It gave me just everything I needed to confirm my religious radicalism . . . it made me feel as though I were in the main stream instead of a backwash somewhere."

"It was both fun and painful to be here and listen to such a variety of views. A year or so ago I would have gotten mad, probably insulted most everybody here and have left within a day or two. However, I listened and thought and was patient and what is most important, I did not fly off the handle."

"World Fellowship seems to me so much a way of life—really the way of life."

"Among other things World Fellowship has greatly encouraged us to carry on in the struggle for peace and plenty for all and for a sane world. It has given us renewed strength and hope to live through this dark period of present-day America, permeated as it is with poisonous propaganda, in the knowledge that we can call you friends."

"Never shall I forget the beauty of the natural setting where we gathered this summer. But more than this shall I remember the sympathetic understanding extended to a stranger by your lovely attitude at all times under any circumstances. It was a thrilling period and swifter than the plane which carried me, my thoughts wing across the miles whenever I take time to think, 'New Hampshire.'"

"The combination that you offer of rest, good food, beautiful country with the intellectual stimulation of the lectures and discussions I think is unique."

"The largeness of viewpoint and the dedication to man that pervades the atmosphere at World Fellowship—plus the intangibles—is something that I shall never forget. I hope it has made a larger person of me."

"It was such a healing experience."

"You know, while no one was watching, I secretly 'borted' whatever it is that flourishes at Fellowship. So whenever things get rough, I expect to draw upon these reserves."

Mr. GLUCK. As long as we are having conversations, I am here to answer questions, and I will. I want to make that clear. But I am going to have to ask the interrogator not to pull such things as the alleged resort. You see, I don't want to play cute. You understand? I will answer questions.

So if you will present your questions cleanly, like that, I intend to answer. So I appreciate——

Mr. MOULDER. What is the question?

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been serving as trustee of World Fellowship, Mr. Gluck?

Mr. GLUCK. One moment, sir.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. Quite frankly, before I answer this question, which I am prepared to answer, I want to know: What does this question have to do with the business at hand?

Mr. NITTLE. The committee is investigating Communist propaganda activities. You have heard the statement of the chairman of the committee.

Mr. GLUCK. I have.

Mr. NITTLE. I think the statement of the chairman sets forth with indisputable clarity the relevance of that question.

Mr. GLUCK. I don't know that it does.

I don't mean to spar with you. It is discussing medical aid work, or other——

I have read this carefully. I have heard it reread. And I am quite prepared to operate within the framework of your investigation here. I don't know why we have to drag in some of the other organizations, unless you make it clear to me.

Mr. MOULDER. May I explain it this way. In the present hearing the committee will inquire into the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and another organization known as the Friends of British Guiana, for the legislative purpose of determining whether the Foreign Agents Registration Act requires further amendment for its effective operation in carrying out the intent of Congress as set forth in the act.

Mr. GLUCK. That is right. What has the World Fellowship to do with that?

Mr. NITTLE. It happens that Melitta del Villar has been invited to speak at the World Fellowship of Faiths, so that the inquiry will be also on that subject.

Now, will you please tell us how long you have served as the trustee of World Fellowship?

Mr. GLUCK. I turn to my lawyer just to corroborate what is in my own mind, quite frankly, that I don't see what a relationship with World Fellowship has to do with whether Melitta del Villar was there to begin with, as far as I am concerned, or the current investigation by the committee.

You have established the fact that she was there.

Mr. MOULDER. That will be for the committee to determine, whether or not that is pertinent to the investigation.

Mr. SCHERER. It is clearly set forth in your opening statement, Mr. Chairman:

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings may designate.

I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. I suggest that the Chair should rule first whether or not the question is pertinent.

Mr. MOULDER. I did so rule, that it is pertinent.

Mr. GLUCK. The Chair has?

Mr. MOULDER. Because the act referred to defines the agent of a foreign principal as any person who within the United States solicits, disburses, dispenses, or collects compensation, contributions, loans, money, or anything of value, directly or indirectly, and so forth, for a foreign principal.

Mr. GLUCK. How does that connect with the World Fellowship? I am going to take that under advisement. May I, for just a moment?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. Quite frankly, I would discuss World Fellowship, but I would like to know from counsel what connection he feels World Fellowship has—

Mr. WILLIS. I think the Chair has ruled.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to proceed.

Mr. GLUCK. All right. I respect that. Just one moment.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. I am on the board. I am a trustee of World Fellowship.

Mr. NITTLE. The question was: How long have you served in that capacity?

Mr. GLUCK. Oh, a number of years.

Mr. NITTLE. Commencing when?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, I am not sure, but I would say about 4 years, or so.

Mr. NITTLE. The brochure sets forth its definition of the World Fellowship of Faiths and declares that it "is a movement open to people of all faiths, races, nationalities and social convictions who seek to understand one another's religions and cultures and to strengthen one another in working toward peace, brotherhood and plenty for all."

Now, were you a member of the Communist Party during the period you have served as a member of the board of trustees of World Fellowship?

Mr. GLUCK. Let's not play cute. You know I will take the fifth amendment on that question, so let's not drag it in any more. I will not answer the question on Communist membership.

Mr. MOULDER. Just proceed in an orderly manner and take the fifth amendment, and not—

Mr. GLUCK. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. NITTLE. What causes you to say, "You know I will take the fifth amendment"? Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should get this on the record right.

He refuses to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment. I still ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. GLUCK. What question?

Mr. BRUCE. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I have answered that question, but I will repeat it.

I refuse to answer that question, under my privileges under the first and fifth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you engage in promoting the united-front policy of the Communist Party in mass organizations by becoming active 4 years ago in the World Fellowship of Faiths?

Mr. GLUCK. I don't understand the question.

Mr. MOULDER. Repeat the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you engage in promoting the united-front policy of the Communist Party in mass organizations by becoming active in the World Fellowship of Faiths?

Mr. GLUCK. Excuse me.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. I don't know of any such policy at all.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute, now. That is not an answer.

Mr. GLUCK. I said I don't know that policy. And I can tell you how I joined the World Fellowship if you will ask me.

Mr. MOULDER. You can answer the question directly, then, by yes or no.

Mr. GLUCK. I can't play with double things. I will answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you use the World Fellowship to promote a mass united front?

Mr. GLUCK. What united-front actions are you talking about?

Mr. NITTLE. The united-front policy is that policy which has been enjoined upon members of the Communist Party by directives issuing from the national leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A., upon instructions from the Soviet Communist Party, directing all Communists to infiltrate non-Communist organizations, and to cooperate for a limited purpose and period in the activity of non-Communist organizations.

Now, were you, as a member of the Communist Party, adhering to the discipline of Communist directives that I have just mentioned in engaging in activity in the World Fellowship of Faiths?

Mr. GLUCK. You seem to know quite a lot more about these things than I do.

I joined the World Fellowship at the invitation of Dr. Willard Uphaus, and on the pressure of him to help him and to join his organization.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, will you please answer the question?

Mr. GLUCK. That is the answer to the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Whether you were joining that organization as a Communist?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. The point is this: Your question is a little mixed up. The point is: I joined this organization at the request of Willard Uphaus, not on any question of Communist or not Communist. And I am telling you that is how I joined the organization. There were no other questions involved.

Mr. WILLIS. So your answer to the question is "No"?

Mr. GLUCK. I really don't know whether "no" would be right in that question, so I have to put it that way.

Mr. WILLIS. He asked you whether you joined that outfit for the purpose he stated. You said you joined it for another purpose. Therefore your answer must be "No."

Mr. GLUCK. Oh, yes. Well, the point is that the answer is "No," but I want to make it perfectly clear that I don't know of any such purpose.

Mr. NITTLE. In my interrogation of the preceding witness, Melitta del Villar, I exhibited to her a copy of a program agenda for World Fellowship Center for the period June 1 to September 3, 1962, issued by World Fellowship, of which you appear to be a trustee. (See del Villar Exhibit No. 20, p. 1937.)

I called her attention to the program for July 23-27: "Cuba and Latin America. A study of the revolutions to the south of us, including British Guiana. Among the resource persons—Felix Cummings, representative of British Guiana's Premier Cheddi Jagan; Melitte del Villar, Chairman, Medical Aid to Cuba Committee," and others.

Did you participate in the initial arrangements for the appearance of Felix Cummings and Melitta del Villar as resource persons for that study?

Mr. GLUCK. No, I did not. Dr. Uphaus arranged the program himself.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you discuss the appearance of Melitta del Villar and Felix Cummings at the seminar?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, I know that Felix Cummings' name never came up between me and Dr. Uphaus. He might have mentioned an invitation to Melitta, but I don't recall it specifically.

Mr. NITTLE. As a trustee of World Fellowship, was it one of your purposes to assist in the establishment of Communist regimes in Cuba, British Guiana, and Latin America generally?

Mr. GLUCK. No. That is not the purpose of World Fellowship.

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking whether it was one of your purposes as a trustee of World Fellowship.

Mr. GLUCK. No, it wasn't.

* * * * *

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Gluck, have you not been long active as a member of the Communist Party in promoting the objectives of the Communist movement?

Mr. GLUCK. Is that the question? The fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a copy of a leaflet marked for identification as Gluck Exhibit No. 2, disseminated in the course of the Korean conflict, which advertises an "Emergency Prayer Meeting and Vigil For Peace in Korea," held Sunday, October 7, 1951, simultaneously at various points in New York City, and sponsored by an organization called the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action, with address at Hotel Seville, 29th St. & Madison Ave., New York City.

The leaflet states in part, you will note: "WE, MINISTERS AND RABBIS of the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action deplore this callous disregard for life."

Under a listing of several ministers and rabbis, your name appears upon the partial list of sponsors as "Sidney J. Gluck, Businessman, New York City."

Were you then, in October of 1951, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I refuse to answer that question, on the previous ground.

What other question are you directing at me with regard to this leaflet?

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

GLUCK EXHIBIT NO. 2

Emergency

Prayer Meeting and Vigil For PEACE in KOREA

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1951

at 3 in the afternoon

Partial List of Sponsors:

Rev. S. M. Saxe
Central Community Church
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Phillips Bradley -
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Dudley H. Best
South Congregational Church
East Hartford, Conn.
Reuben B. B. Anderson, General
Synagogue, Jewish Center
of the Bronx, New York
Dr. Mark A. Brinkman
Former Executive Secretary
of the World Council of Home Missions
New York
Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. John Brown
Northside Unitarian Church
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rev. Joseph M. Brown
Metropolitan Community Church
Chicago, Ill.
Rev. James Harnett
Metropolitan Religious League
of the U. S.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Reuben B. B. Anderson
Radio City Synagogue
New York City
Prof. Joseph P. Fluhler
Ecological Theological Seminary
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Kenneth Henry Foster
Chairman,
Ecological League for Social Action
Philadelphia, Pa.
Sidney J. Gluck
Berkman, New York City
Reuben B. B. Anderson
Metropolitan Community Church
New Haven, Conn.
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Hartford Ave. Baptist Church
Detroit, Mich.
Rev. Charles H. Jones
Ozone Park, N. Y.
Rev. Planning James, Jr.
North Haven, Conn.
Rev. Stafford B. Johnson
Spring Branch Baptist Church
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. John Paul Jones
Union Church of Bay Ridge
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Thomas Kigore, Jr.
Friendship Baptist Church
New York, N. Y.
Rev. John H. Lathrop
Church of the Servant
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. Randall B. Lathrop
Community Church of Boston
Boston, Mass.
Rev. Edward L. Lathrop
Epworth Methodist Church
Bronx, N. Y.
Captain Philip Malone
New York City
Rev. William E. Spaulding
Editor, "The Witness"
Tuchman, Pa.
Rev. Frederick E. Stines
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rev. John B. Thompson, Dean
Rockefeller Memorial Chapel
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Charles Young Trigg
Salem Methodist Church
New York City
Dr. Willard Upham
New Haven, Conn.
Prof. John Wild
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

HEARTBREAK RIDGE is in the Korean news — heartbreaking news. Taken by American forces one day, recaptured by North Koreans the next, thousands of men were killed. They were killed at the very time that talk was going on about truce negotiations.

WE, MINISTERS AND RABBIS of the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action deplore this callous disregard for life. We know the people's strong desire for peace. For this reason we are sponsoring a public prayer meeting where all voices may join to reaffirm the commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill." There must be an end to the slaughter in Korea.

HUGO ERNST, the International President of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union spoke out clearly. "In every war," he said, "those who suffer most are the working people and their families. The hope of peace is in the hands of the working people of the world."

LABOR PAYS a heavy price in war. Sons and husbands are separated from their families and face death. This war economy produces inflation; cuts wages; but profits are the greatest in history. Wartime prices, wartime rents have doubled. Wartime stabilization of wages prevents labor from even catching up with the cost of living. Behind the smokescreen of wartime hysteria, restriction and repression is imposed. Race hatred is fostered.

TO STOP THE WAR IN KOREA is to build the first barrier to world war. "Peace in the Korean situation may be the first step towards the accomplishment of a world without slaughter," wrote Earl W. Jimerson and Patrick Gorman, President and Secretary Treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, AFL.

BECAUSE WE FIRMLY BELIEVE that all who want an end to war must act together to make our voices heard, we, the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action urge you to join us Sunday afternoon, October 7th, to work together for peace in Korea.

- MANHATTAN CENTER 8th Avenue and 34th Street
- ROCKLAND PALACE 155th Street and 8th Avenue
- ST. NICHOLAS ARENA 69 West 66th Street

Sponsored by: INTERFAITH COMMITTEE FOR PEACE ACTION
Hotel Seville, 29th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. C. — Room 225 — LExtogton 2-1722

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Mr. NITTLE. Was it not your purpose, in lending assistance to that "peace" effort, to frustrate American resistance to Communist aggression in Korea?

Mr. GLUCK. Excuse me. I want to consult with counsel.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. If you can explain to me the pertinency of this question at this time, I will consider fuller answers.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee is making inquiry into Communist activities. The Supreme Court has held repeatedly that this committee is authorized to investigate Communist activities generally. It is also relevant to corroborate—

Mr. GLUCK. I am advised by counsel—well, I will tell him—that if we want to go through the many, many things that I have done in my life, and I am 46, we will keep you here all week, because I am prepared to discuss them. I am not unproud of the things I have done.

But he asked me to ask you: What is the relevance of this thing?

Mr. NITTLE. I respectfully request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. WILLIS (presiding). What is the pending question?

Mr. NITTLE. Was it not your purpose, in lending assistance to that "peace" effort, to frustrate American resistance to Communist aggression in Korea?

Mr. REIN. This relates to leaflet put out October 7, 1951.

Mr. GLUCK. This was after the Korean war had been going for almost a year and a half.

Mr. NITTLE. The peace efforts, Mr. Chairman, undertaken by the Communist Party at that time, are relevant.

Mr. WILLIS. A document has been submitted. And as I understand it, this witness had some part in its preparation, and he is being asked was it not his purpose, never mind how the document reads, in its dissemination, to propagate some Communist theory or philosophy or propaganda.

I think it is a good question, and I order you to answer it. If it was not your purpose, just say so.

Mr. GLUCK. I want to answer the question. I really do. But I just want to be sure that we all understand that all this is being dragged in, because I do want to answer the question.

You see, the Korean war had been going for—

Mr. WILLIS. No, no—

Mr. GLUCK. I will give you my purpose behind it.

The purpose was not to extend any Communist doctrine here—

Mr. WILLIS. Just answer the question.

Mr. GLUCK. Would you repeat the question, please?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. GLUCK. No, that was not my purpose. My purpose, and the purpose of the people who organized these prayer and vigil meetings, which speaks for itself, incidentally, for those who want to read it, is that we felt that it served no purpose to continue the Korean war. It was seesawing up and back.

HAVE WE LOST OUR WILL TO PROTECT OUR FREEDOMS?

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . ."

For most of two centuries the rightness of those words has been a conviction of most Americans.

"If there is one thing certain about the First Amendment it is that this Amendment was designed to guarantee free interchange of ideas about all public matters and that, of course, means the interchange of *all* ideas. . . .—Justice Hugo L. Black, *June 5, 1961*.

A great reinforcement of our conviction? Those words are in a *disseminate* edition. The majority of the Supreme Court in *June 5* upholding the Smith Act held that Congress can punish citizens for "active" membership in an organization that is, for assembling peaceably. Previously the Court held that Congress can punish citizens for "conspiring to teach and advocate" that is, for exercising *freedom of speech and press*.

"The first banning of so association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fateful moment in the history of a free country."—Justice Black, *June 5, 1961*.

Justice Black was dissenting against the Supreme Court decision that the virtual outlawing of the Communist Party was legal. What has happened to our conviction? It has given way to abhorrence with "national security" or, to be more honest, fear. Is living way to fear likely to make us more secure?

"Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures. . . .—Harry S. Truman, *August 8, 1950*.

That advice was rejected by Congress when it passed the Internal Security Act, which the Court just upheld. With this recent decision the President has been told that he has no choice but to let the Nazis outlaw first Communist ideas, then socialist ideas, then democratic ideas, and finally common decency.

"Now, when this country is trying to spread the high ideals of democracy all over the world—ideals that are revolutionary in many countries—seems to be a particularly inappropriate time to stifle First Amendment freedoms in this country."—Justice Black, *June 5, 1961*.

How can we claim world leadership when fear subverts our most revolutionary ideal: freedom to oppose the government? How can we regain the courage of our conviction?

"What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."—Justice William O. Douglas, *June 5, 1961*.

Frightened majorities often take course from steadfast minorities. A notable example in the past was President Jefferson's release of citizens imprisoned under the infamous Sedition Act. An example today is given by the 32 Americans in prison or facing prison for upholding the First Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it."—Dr. Albert Einstein, in a letter to ECLC, *March 3, 1954*.

Einstein had learned in Germany in the 1930's that lovers of freedom must show the courage of their conviction at every opportunity—in their schools, their churches, their community organizations, their political activities,

IF YOU HAVE CONVICTION — SHOW YOUR COURAGE SPEAK UP FOR THE RIGHT TO DISSENT

Signers of Ad

"Have We the Will to Protect Our Freedoms?"

Paul F. Albright California	William H. Daniels New York	Leo Roherman New York	Rev. George L. Paine Massachusetts
Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Alder Wisconsin	John H. Davenport New York	V. Randolph Jewett California	Lewis Perry New York
Roberta F. Anthony Massachusetts	Dr. Peter M. Dawson California	Mary Lou Jewett California	Arno A. Peterson California
Zora Q. Austin New York	James G. Dombrowski Illinois	Dr. Erich Rabl New Jersey	Russell P. Taylor New York
Frederic E. Ball Illinois	Dr. James G. Dombrowski Louisiana	Dr. George M. Kallen New York	Bertha C. Bernold Massachusetts
Elizabeth C. Barker California	Bertram Edles California	Reckard Kent New York	Mason A. Roberson California
Prof. Stringfellow Barr New York	Philip Evergood Massachusetts	Edna C. Knapke Massachusetts	Prof. Arnold A. Rozov California
Thomas W. Benson New York	Robert G. Field Massachusetts	A. A. Kravitz New York	Theodore Rosebury Missouri
Morton Berland Minnesota	Linda G. Fletcher California	Edith C. Lawrence Ohio	Robert T. Rosenfield California
Bella Freud Bernays New York	Dr. Royal W. France New York	Dr. Carl Wagner G. Leislad New York	Rose V. Russell California
Prof. Gerald A. Bertin New York	Ruth Frankel New York	Immanuel Lenzel California	Lois Schaeffer California
Herbert Bihman California	Rev. Stephen B. Fritchman California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Dr. Clinton Lee Scott Florida
Thos. Blubb New York	Ernest B. Fritchman Michigan	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Rev. Peter Lee Scott Massachusetts
Prof. Ork Boudle Pennsylvania	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Philip Lee Scott New York
Elizabeth B. Borden New York	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Arthur Schotzer New York
Anne Braden Kentucky	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Edward N. Oliver New York
Prof. O. Murray Branch Georgia	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Lois Schaeffer California
Dr. Henry Brewster New York	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Nancy P. Struss Washington, D.C.
Valda J. Bryant California	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Maxwell Taylor Michigan
Dr. Allan M. Butler California	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Dr. Blake Toch Michigan
Mrs. Lena Caldwell California	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Lois Tokar Michigan
Dr. Henry A. Callie Washington, D.C.	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Rev. Moses S. Walker Massachusetts
John A. Carson New York	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Stanley E. Weinberger New York
Prof. Serze Cherniatoff Massachusetts	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Paul Wexler Connecticut
Prof. Robert A. Cohen Massachusetts	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	David Wexler Pennsylvania
Paul Corry California	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Rev. Eliot White Massachusetts
Bertram Cole Connecticut	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Brigitte Wilson Connecticut
John A. Coward New York	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	A. P. William South Carolina
Rev. Henry Pitt Crane Michigan	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	Robert J. Winer California
	Charles G. Gansan California	Charles C. Lockwood Michigan	George Williamson Pennsylvania

This advertisement submitted and paid for by

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave, New York 1, N.Y.

Ultimately a President of the United States did take that position. And we settled at the 38th parallel. We had been going up and back twice on the thing. We were having many casualties.

I don't want to consider for the moment the question of casualties on the other side, but it was obvious that this was either going to work itself into an all-out world war, or that we were going to make a compromise on this. And we felt that a compromise was in order, a compromise was ultimately made, and we feel that our position was a correct one for our country.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. In contrast with the evident lack of will displayed by you toward protecting our freedoms in Korea, I now call your attention to an advertisement which appears—

Mr. GLUCK. I object to the question, I might as well tell you right now, because you can't characterize any lack of will with regard to me. I had a very strong will with regard to the matter, and that was that we should stop the bloodshed going on in Korea. So let's do this right.

Mr. NITTLE. I now call your attention to an advertisement, identified as Gluck Exhibit No. 3, which appeared in the *Washington Post*, Monday, October 2, 1961, submitted and paid for by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of 421 7th Ave., New York 1, N.Y., titled "HAVE WE LOST OUR WILL TO PROTECT OUR FREEDOMS?"

You, Sidney Gluck, of New York, appear as a signer of the ad.

Did you execute that advertisement in support of the Communist Party objective of defeating all legislation which impedes the organizational efforts of the Communist movement within the United States?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. Look, will you put the question to me once more, so that I will get the form of it?

I am not only interested in protecting our freedoms in Korea, but right here at home. And frankly, I believe every word in this particular statement, which says, "Have we lost our conviction and will to fight for our freedoms?"

In our opinion, the test of our freedoms is to protect the right to dissent. And if we here want to make a crime out of the protection of the right to dissent, we might as well say our democracy has gone down the drain. And I am proud to have been a signer of that statement.

You know, it is very easy to protect the democratic rights of somebody you agree with. But that is not the real test. And I repeat that point.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 3" appears opposite this page.)

Mr. NITTLE. When you allowed the use of your name for that advertisement, were you aware that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had been described as a Communist front?

Mr. GLUCK. Mr. Inquisitor, are you aware that they have been described as a Communist front, sir? And will you tell me chapter and verse where they have been so described?

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness should be directed to answer the question.

Mr. NITTLE. The question is: Were you aware at the time you signed that advertisement that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was a Communist front?

Mr. GLUCK. I am not aware of it now. I couldn't have been aware of it then. So I would like for you, since you have made that allegation, to bring it into the record.

I am quite prepared to sit here and wait and let's see where it is.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask the Chairman that the reference to——

Mr. WILLIS. He said he was not aware of it. That answers the question.

Mr. GLUCK. I even challenge the statement, here, because it leaves the impression that it is true.

Mr. SCHERER. That organization has been cited by this committee as a Communist-dominated organization.

Mr. GLUCK. Just because this committee cited it doesn't make it so. I still haven't seen it.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you allowed the use of your name for that advertisement?

Mr. GLUCK. Would you mind repeating the question, sir?

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you executed that advertisement?

Mr. GLUCK. You are wasting time, because it is the same question again.

Under the first and fifth amendments, I refuse to answer that question.

And if you bring it in 20 more times, and want to create a record which says 20 times you used the fifth, it is your privilege and not mine.

Mr. NITTLE. That is your privilege.

Mr. GLUCK. That is right. And thank God we have got it in this country.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a copy of a letter, marked for identification as Gluck Exhibit No. 4, upon the letterhead of an organization entitled "National Assembly for Democratic Rights," 118 East 28 Street, New York 16, N.Y., which is addressed: "To all Sponsors, Participants, Committees and Supporters," over the signature of Professor Louise Pettibone Smith, to which is attached a copy of a letter signed by Harold C. Urey, the noted atomic physicist, dated November 10, 1961.

The letter of Dr. Urey is addressed to The President, The White House, Washington, D.C., and protests the compulsory registration of Communist Party members required by the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Professor Smith's letter on behalf of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights urges support for Dr. Urey's position, and urges all groups, organizations, and committees to popularize Dr. Urey's letter and to send concurring resolutions to the President.

You appear as a sponsor upon the letterhead of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights. Did you act in such capacity for that organization?

Mr. GLUCK. I signed my name, yes.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 4" appears on pp. 1965-1967.)

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 4

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

118 EAST 28 STREET — NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Phone: LE 2-6288

SIMON SCHACHTER
Secretary

SPONSORS

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ISOBEL M. CERNY
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REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLAIN
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PROF. HUBERT S. COFFEE
Berkeley, Calif.
REV. JOSEPH C. COLES, JR.
Cleveland, Ohio
PAUL COREY
Sonoma, Calif.
REV. DAVID R. COVELL
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GEORGE W. CROCKETT, ESQ.
Detroit 26, Mich.
PROF. EPHRAIM CROSS
New York 25, N. Y.
LENORE WILSON CROSS
Detroit 6, Mich.
MRS. ELFIEDA DAIBER
Cleveland 2, Ohio
DR. PERCY M. DAWSON
Los Altos, California
MAX DRAN, Esq.
Flint, Michigan
LOIS DIEHL
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DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
New York, N. Y.
DR. LEWIS A. ELDRIDGE, JR.
Rensselaerville, New York
DR. WILLIS E. ELLIOT
Cleveland, Ohio
REV. JOHN E. EVANS
Columbus 14, Ohio
STANLEY FAULKNER, ESQ.
New York 16, N. Y.

(Continued on reverse side)

To all Sponsors, Participants,
Committees and Supporters:

The letter which Dr. Urey, Nobel prize winner in chemistry and a consistent lover of freedom, has sent to President Kennedy (letter enclosed) in which he presents with clarity and cogency both the danger to democracy in the United States of America inherent in the McCarran Internal Security Act and the reason why the President should act to protect the freedoms so essential to Democracy.

Dr. Harold C. Urey is one of the sponsors of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and all of us concerned with that National Assembly most gratefully appreciate his forceful presentation of the situation.

We can support Dr. Harold C. Urey's position by writing to the President ourselves, and by urging others to write. We urge all groups, organizations and committees to popularize this letter and to send concurring resolutions to the President.

Whatever we do must be done quickly.

Louise Pettibone Smith
Professor Louise Pettibone Smith

P.S. We call to your attention the enclosed business reply envelope. Funds are needed urgently to continue our activities. Thank you.

* * * *

We take this opportunity to extend to you and your family the Seasons Greetings.

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 4—(Continued)

SIMON FEDERMAN
New York, N. Y.

MOE FISHMAN
New York, N. Y.

REV. DR. HAZEL E. FOSTER
Cleveland, Ohio

DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE
New York, N. Y.

ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER
Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
Glendale, California

DR. JOSEPH B. FURST
New York, N. Y.

REV. RICHARD GILBERT
Cleveland, Ohio

SIDNEY J. GLUCK
New York, N. Y.

DR. CARLTON B. GOODLETT
San Francisco, Calif.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM
New York, N. Y.

DR. RALPH H. GUNDLACH
New York, N. Y.

ROBERT GWATHMEY
New York, N. Y.

CARL HAESSLER
Detroit, Mich.

VINCENT HALLINAN, ESQ.
Rose Cal.

DR. ALICE HAMILTON
Haddlyme, Conn.

WILLIAM HARRISON
Boston 16, Mass.

PEARL M. HART, Attorney
Chicago, Illinois

DOROTHY HAVEN
Falls Village, Conn.

RICHARD HILEY
Portland, Ore.

MARION E. HERRICK
Los Angeles 12, Calif.

REV. CHARLES A. HILL
Detroit, Mich.

VICTOR A. HOERSCH
Champaign, Ill.

RABBI MORTON HOFFMAN
San Rafael, Calif.

RABBI PHILIP HOROWITZ
Cleveland, Ohio

DANIEL HOWARD
Woodst. Conn.

REV. KENNETH HUGHES
Cambridge, Mass.

JOHN L. JOHNSON
Crosby, Minn.

DR. OAKLEY C. JOHNSON
New York, N. Y.

RABBI WOLFF KAEHLER
Long Beach 15, Calif.

SAMUEL KAMEN
Brooklyn 30, N. Y.

ROCKWELL KENT
New York, N. Y.

RABBI ISAAC KLEIN
Buffalo 16, N. Y.

OPAL F. KRACEK
Nogales, Arizona

RABBI ABRAHAM KRANTZ
Greensburg, Pa.

DR. NATHANIEL S. LEHRMAN
Great Neck, N. Y.

IRMGARD LENEL
Santa Monica, Calif.

ARYAY LENSKE
New York 38, N. Y.

REV. B. H. LOGAN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

DR. SOL LONDE
St. Louis, Mo.

BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE
Baltimore, Md.

HELEN H. MacMARTIN
Burlington, Vt.

PROF. HARVEY K. MCARTHUR
Hartford, Conn.

JOHN T. McMANUS
Montrose, N. Y.

FRANCIS J. McTERNAN
San Francisco 4, Calif.

JOHN T. McTERNAN, ESQ.
Los Angeles 5, Calif.

HARRY MARINSKY
Kew-Forest, Conn.

DR. J. M. MARSAKA
New Haven, Conn.

LAFAYETTE MARSH
La Grange, Ill.

DR. HENRY MAYER
Woodside, Calif.

DR. LEO MAYER
New York, N. Y.

MRS. OLIVE MAYER
Woodside, Calif.

REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MEISER
Brooklyn, New York

HON. STANLEY MOFFATT
Los Angeles, Calif.

REV. ANDREW J. MONCOL
Cleveland, Ohio

HON. JAMES O. MONROE
Columbia, Md.

REV. RICHARD MORFORD
New York, N. Y.

JOE MORGAN
Detroit 38, Mich.

CAPT. HUGH MULZAC
Jamaica, New York

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.
Washington, D. C.

DR. OTTO NATHAN
New York 3, N. Y.

WALTER M. NELSON, ESQ.
Detroit 16, Mich.

REV. J. PIERCE NEWELL
Madison, New Jersey

AXEL NIELSEN
South Haven, Mich.

BERTINICE NOAR
New York 10, N. Y.

GEORGE OKHAUSEN
San Francisco 9, Calif.

DR. PAUL OLYNYK
Cleveland, Ohio

MRS. JOHN K. ORMOND
Birmingham, Mich.

FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
Chapel Hill, N. C.

PROF. HOWARD L. PARSONS
Ledar Rapids, Iowa

PROF. LINUS PAULING
Pasadena, California

REV. EDWARD L. PEET
Sacramento, California

REV. DR. DRYDEN LINSLEY PHELPS
Berkeley, California

PROF. ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
Cornwall Bridge, Conn.

RALPH E. POWE, Esq.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

REV. RUDOLPH RABER
Cleveland, Ohio

BERTHA C. REYNOLDS
Stoughton, Mass.

REV. RICHARD R. RODES
Cleveland, Ohio

W. G. ROMINGER
Oklahoma City, Okla.

PROF. THEODORE ROSEBURY
St. Louis, Mo.

DON ROTHENBERG
Cleveland 18, Ohio

DANIEL RUBIN, ESQ.
Brooklyn 12, N. Y.

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
New York, N. Y.

REV. VIRGIL R. SANTERF
Cleveland, Ohio

DAVID SARVIS
San Francisco 7, Calif.

SIMON SCHACHTER, ESQ.
New York, N. Y.

MORRIS U. SCHAFFLES
New York 3, N. Y.

HYMAN SCHLESINGER, ESQ.
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

EMMA SCHMIDT
Chicago 14, Ill.

LOUIS B. SCOTT
Alhambra 6, Calif.

ANATOLE SHAFFER
Berkeley 3, Calif.

REV. EMERSON S. SHWENK
Cleveland, Ohio

C. LEBRON SIMONS, ESQ.
Detroit 26, Mich.

THOMAS L. SIATER
Chicago 13, Ill.

PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
Winchester, Conn.

RUTH W. SOLOMON
Spokane, Wash.

REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
Tunkhannock, Pa.

EMMA GELDERS STERNI
San Jose 25, Calif.

MAURICE SUGAR, ESQ.
Onaway, Mich.

MRS. PAULINE TAYLOR
Youngstown, Ohio

ROBERT C. TRAVIS
Hollywood 28, Calif.

JEANNETTE A. TURNER
Long Island City, N. Y.

DR. WILLARD T'PHALS
Conway, New Hampshire

DR. HAROLD C. UREY
La Jolla, Calif.

DR. MARY VAN KLEECK
Woodstock, N. Y.

MRS. CLARA M. VINCENT
Ivonia, Mich.

JAMES WALKER
Detroit 17, Mich.

DR. ALFRED H. WASHBURN
Denver 20, Colo.

REV. WM. CAMPBELL WASSER
Boulder, Colo.

PROF. LEROY WATTMAN
Ann Arbor, Mich.

SAMUEL B. WATERMAN, ESQ.
New York 6, N. Y.

REV. LOWELL WELLMAN
Cleveland, Ohio

REV. ELIOT WHITE
Arlington, Mass.

PROF. BERTRAM F. WHITE
Ithaca, New York

RIV. ROY M. WINGATI
Detroit, N. Y.

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 4—(Continued)

COPY

HAROLD C. UREY

7890 Torrey Lane
La Jolla, California
November 10, 1961

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I am deeply worried that freedom of thought, speech and association would be seriously damaged if your Administration were to undertake prosecutions under the McCarran Internal Security Act. I am especially concerned because free and independent thinking is most urgently needed today when most thoughtful approaches to the troublesome problems of this century are required. As President Truman put it so forcefully when he vetoed the original bill in 1950: "We need not fear the expression of ideas—we do need to fear their suppression." If, as your Democratic predecessor contended, the law represents "a clear and present danger to our institutions," it should surely be repealed. Pending further study by the Administration and proposals for congressional reconsideration, I believe that you can and should suspend enforcement of the registration order which has been issued against the Communist Party.

This order to register, with all its attendant disabilities, was issued by the Subversive Activities Control Board not because of any criminal activities, but merely because the ideas of the American Communist Party were judged substantially to parallel the ideas of Communists abroad. Other organizations are now in line for condemnation because their ideas do not deviate markedly from those of the American Communist Party. Ideological similarity is supposed to provide sufficient cause to force organizations to denounce and label themselves as foreign agents, and worse, and to deny their members even the right to apply for passports.

If prosecutions and arrests are pursued under this first registration order, and if further orders are issued against "Communist fronts" and Communist-infiltrated organizations, I fear that the effect on American democracy would be disastrous. Organizations harassed by endless litigation would be driven out of existence. Individuals, knowing that failure to register as members of designated organizations entails daily penalties of five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine, would be careful not to join any group whose ideas might at any future time be regarded as Communistic. Prudent Americans would then eschew expression of all ideas on controversial subjects or determine the Communist stand then espouse the opposite.

Despite popular misconceptions, the McCarran Act has been accorded Supreme Court approval only in the narrowest sense. In a 5-4 decision the Court only ruled that a particular organization could be ordered to register. It specifically delayed ruling on whether the required self-denunciation of members would violate the 5th Amendment (a pertinent question particularly because the Court upheld the Smith Act's clause making membership in the Communist Party punishable). The Court has not yet ruled on whether the various disabilities accompanying registration violate the First Amendment guarantees of freedom.

You will recall that although courts upheld the Alien & Sedition Acts, President Jefferson, on principle, battled for their nullification. He freed the victims of these laws and successfully sought repeal. I believe that you, like Jefferson, have an important mission to fulfill in regard to the McCarran and Smith Acts, which are very like the now universally-condemned laws of 1798. It is in your hands to protect America's democratic way of life from the pervasive thought-censoring effects of these laws.

I am sorry to make any appeal to you on behalf of people who I believe are so very much in error with respect to political and economic principles as those belonging to the Communist Party. Yet if we do not protect the rights of people with whom we disagree, the time may well come when we must defend those with whom we do agree or indeed our very selves.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) HAROLD C. UREY

Mr. NITTLE. In October of 1961, this committee investigated the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and a coordinating and organizing group in support of it, the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties.

Both were found to be Communist fronts organized as propaganda devices for the conduct of mass activity in support of the reversal or nonapplication of the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Smith Act membership clause, the latter making punishable active membership in the Communist Party.

The question, Mr. Gluck, is: Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time your name appeared as a sponsor of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights, as shown on the reverse side of Professor Smith's letter, Gluck Exhibit No. 4?

Mr. GLUCK. Fifth amendment.

Is counsel aware of the fact that some of the statements that he just made with regards to the case, the McCarran Act case, and the order, is now in the courts, and there is a contradiction between that and the fifth amendment, which is going to be tested?

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Your efforts to repeal security legislation do not appear to be of recent origin.

Mr. GLUCK. Sir, I didn't hear that.

Mr. NITTLE. I say your efforts to repeal security legislation do not appear to be of a recent origin.

For example, I hand you a copy of the *Daily Worker* of Monday, March 17, 1952, marked for identification as Gluck Exhibit No. 5, and call your attention to an item at page 3, titled "80 Brooklyn Notables Urge People to Act for Repeal of Smith Act."

You are described as one of 80 Brooklyn community leaders who have joined in this petition, and you are referred to as Sidney Gluck, textile designer and businessman.

Were you correctly described as a textile designer and businessman?

Mr. GLUCK. They should have put in a feeble businessman.

Mr. NITTLE. On March 17, 1952?

Mr. GLUCK. Oh, I was correctly described, if that is your question. Is that your question with regard to this document?

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 5

[Daily Worker, New York, Monday, Mar. 17, 1952, p. 3]

80 Brooklyn Notables Urge People to Act for Repeal of Smith Act

More than 80 prominent Brooklyn community leaders yesterday called on "all citizens to join with us in a public protest against the Smith Act, and petition our representatives and government to initiate and support all measures for the repeal of this 'Act.'"

The signatures of ministers, rabbis, trade union leaders, attorneys, physicians, other professionals and businessmen, are appended to a statement that the Smith Act "challenges all Americans who abide by their faith in the basic democratic principles of our land to speak out clearly against further encroachments on our liberties. No advocate of freedom can remain silent while the Bill of Rights is shackled by this Smith Act decision."

The call was issued by the Sponsoring Group for the Brooklyn Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act, which includes Dr. Vincent Bellafiore, Ridgewood community leader; Lewis Flagg, Jr., attorney and leader of the NAACP; Sidney Gluck, textile designer and businessman; Rabbi Louis D. Gross, editor of the "Examiner"; Reverend John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge; Reverend John Howland Lathrop, Church of the Saviour; Reverend Randy Ray, Corner

Stone Baptist Church, and Frank Serri, attorney.

The list of signatories to this public call includes:

Reverend W. J. Atkinson, St. Mary's and St. Mark's Church of Christ; Reverend Alberto B. Bacz, First Spanish Methodist Church; Reverend Reginald H. Bass, Central Community Church; Dr. A. J. Beacher; Reverend Harold F. Berry, Wright's Memorial Church; Reverend Dr. K. A. Bishara, Syrian Church; Dr. Frank Blak.

Also, James L. Bobb; Reverend William G. Boomhower; Alvin A. Bowman; Reverend Dr. Samuel Buchler, People's Synagogue; Frederick Campbell; Reverend Karl M. Chwerowsky, Fourth Unitarian Church of Brooklyn.

Also, Samuel Clark; Joseph Colletti; Reverend J. G. Collins, Williamsburg Mission; Mrs. Louis Currey; Reverend Lewis A. Conius, Community Congregational Church of Elmhurst; Bishop Francis A. C. Dalrymple, All Saints Church; Reverend Herbert D. Dickens, Messiah-Zionist Evangelical Church; Dr. Carl Drayer.

Also, Dr. Jerome Duckman; Dr. Zalman A. Dunn; Rabbi Zvi H. Elsenstal, Maggid Chove Torah Synagogue; Robert Ely, Urban League; Miss Flora Evans; Dr. Milton D. Fishman; Louis H. Frishkoff; Reverend O. Shubert Frye, Associate Executive, Presbyterian Synod of New York.

Also Hamilton George; Reverend I. G. Glover; Rabbi Israel Goldstein; Dr. William L. Granger; F. Greenbaum; Dr. Sarah Greenberg.

Also, Reverend Cornelius Greenway, All

Souls Universalist Church; Allen Joedier; Thomas B. Jones; Harold Kirshner, instructor, Long Island University; Mrs. Lillian Kohn; John Howard Lawson; Abraham H. Marek; Dr. Arthur J. Marsh; Harry Marshak; Stella Marshak.

Also, John D. Masso, business agent, Local 255, Glass Bevelers, AFL; Reverend Joseph H. May; Dr. Frank W. McCoy; Reverend Wm. H. Melish, Church of the Holy Trinity; Alexander F. Miller; Dr. Herbert I. Othman; S. Posenurok; Mrs. Nancy R. Pollock.

Also, Dr. Saul Price; Dr. Joseph L. Prusahin; Dr. John S. Riley; Reverend Charles S. Rhoden; Dr. E. Rothenberg; Dr. Norman Rosenberg; Dr. Paul Seiden; Professor Harry Blochower, Brooklyn College; Felix Sper.

Also, Reverend and Mrs. John Spiers, Church of the Neighbor; Martin J. Starfeld; Dr. Mark Straus; Reverend Frank Vasquez, Church of God; Gerald A. Vickers; Charles L. Warden; Dr. Jacob J. Wesler; Benny White; Mrs. Inez White; Dr. Harold Yachnes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. The fifth amendment.

(At this point Mr. Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to lending the use of your name, as a textile designer and businessman to Communist causes, you have appeared in other occupational capacities, have you not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. Mr. Nittle, the thing you are bringing in here——

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. GLUCK. Mr. Nittle——

Mr. NITTLE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. GLUCK. You know, I don't know what question you are asking now.

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be directed to respond.

Mr. REIN. It would facilitate matters greatly if counsel did not have preambles to his questions, and simply asked a simple question.

Mr. MOULDER (presiding). What is the question?

Mr. GLUCK. I would like to say something for myself.

We are not going to go through a whole series of denials that I have done these things. And if counsel wants to read into the record his interpretation of what these things mean, that is perfectly all right.

Let's get on to the question of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, and I will answer the questions. You have established enough precedents.

Mr. NITTLE. An advertisement appeared in the *Daily Worker* of June 2, 1953, page 8, giving notice that a public discussion with audience participation, sponsored by the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade, would be held on Wednesday, June 3, 1953, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City, on the subject. "Will Peace Bring a Depression?"

You are listed as one of the speakers, under the name of Sidney Gluck, and your qualifications or occupational capacity is listed as "Economist" and "Business Man."

Were you then an economist?

Mr. GLUCK. Self-taught.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

GLUCK EXHIBIT NO. 6
[Daily Worker, June 2, 1953, p. 8]

Will Peace Bring a Depression?

A Public Discussion (with audience participation)

Peace, Jobs—Can We Have Both?

Wednesday, June 3 • **Thomas Richardson**
1:30 P.M. ~~Director, American Peace Crusade~~

Cornish Arms Hotel • **Clifford Cameron**
811 W. 23rd St. ~~Business Manager, U.S. No. 675~~

Admission 60c • **Sidney Gluck**
Economist, Business Man

Sponsored by N.Y. Peace Council of American Peace Crusade
132 West 72nd Street

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the Spring 1947 brochure of the Jefferson School of Social Science of New York, marked for identification as Gluck Exhibit No. 7 which sets forth a series of courses on the principles of Marxism.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. I am going to take the fifth amendment on this.

Mr. NITTLE. The program is captioned in bold type, "How Much Marxism Do You Know?" followed by the statement, "Do you have a background in the Marxist classics and in the writings of the American working class leaders?"

I call your attention to two courses described therein, "Principles of Marxism I," given every evening by Sidney Gluck, and "Political Economy II: Production, Distribution, Crises," a Wednesday evening course given by Sidney Gluck.

Did you derive your reputation as an economist by reason of your employment at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. GLUCK. That is cute.

I take the fifth amendment on all questions concerning the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. NITTLE. Why do you take the fifth amendment on every question concerning the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. GLUCK. Why do I? Because I want to avail myself of my constitutional rights under the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the Spring 1950 brochure of courses of the Jefferson School of Social Science, marked Gluck Exhibit No. 8, containing a list of instructors and guest lecturers. At page 42, your name, Sidney Gluck, appeared, described in this brochure as "Lecturer for trade-union and community groups."

Were you a member of the Communist Party in the spring of 1950, when you were engaged as a lecturer at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. GLUCK. Excuse me.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. I take the fifth amendment on that question.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. The June 30, 1955, report of the Subversive Activities Control Board—

Mr. GLUCK. What was the date, if I may ask?

Mr. NITTLE. The June 30, 1955, report of the Subversive Activities Control Board, declared that the Jefferson School of Social Science is utilized as the Communist Party's principal training ground for effective membership and leadership.

Was the Jefferson School of Social Science, at the time you were engaged as a lecturer, the Communist Party's principal training ground?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. GLUCK. I will take the fifth.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the *National Guardian* of June 25, 1962, marked for identification as Gluck Exhibit No. 9. I direct your attention to an article appearing at page 10, entitled "Civic leaders urge U.S. youth to attend Helsinki peace festival."

The article states:

Fifty prominent educators and religious and community leaders have issued a statement encouraging participation of American youth in the Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship to be held in Helsinki, Finland, July 28-August 6.

Among those listed as initiators of the statement appears the name "Sidney Gluck, New York."

Did you authorize the use of your name for that purpose?

Mr. GLUCK. The fifth amendment on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you authorize use of your name?

Mr. GLUCK. I took the fifth on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Mildred Blauvelt, a detective of the New York City Police Department, who, while serving in such capacity, performed duties as an undercover operative working within the Communist Party, testified before this committee, on May 3, 1955, that Sid Gluck was a member of the Flatbush Club of the Communist Party.

Were you at any time a member of the Flatbush Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. Well, I take the fifth on that. You can have your Mildred Blauvelt.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all. Go ahead to the next question.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Mildred Blauvelt?

Mr. GLUCK. I take the fifth on that, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Was she telling the truth, or was she lying?

Mr. GLUCK. I take the fifth on that, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. She further testified that in November 1944, Sid Gluck was credited with having recruited 54 new members into the Communist Party.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do you wish to offer any explanation or to give any testimony in affirmation or denial of the testimony of Mrs. Blauvelt?

Mr. GLUCK. The fifth.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean you invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. GLUCK. Yes, just to save time. Because I would like to answer questions about the Medical Aid Committee.

Mr. BRUCE. He can't invoke the fifth amendment just to save time and move on.

Mr. GLUCK. No, no. You are well taken. I agree with you. I am taking the fifth to avail myself of the constitutional privileges under the fifth.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it because you sincerely believe a response to the question I asked would subject you to possible criminal prosecution?

Mr. GLUCK. And do you sincerely believe that the answer will be other than that I take the fifth amendment to that question?

Mr. SCHERER. He is testing your good faith in it.

Mr. GLUCK. My faith is good. I am here to answer questions by the committee.

(Document marked "Gluck Exhibit No. 9" follows:)

GLUCK EXHIBIT No. 9
[National Guardian, June 25, 1962, p. 10]

STATEMENT SUPPORTS WORLD MEETING

Civic leaders urge U. S. youth to attend Helsinki peace festival

FIFTY prominent educators and religious and community leaders have issued a statement encouraging participation of American youth in the Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship to be held in Helsinki, Finland, July 28-Aug. 6.

The signers included Rev. W. B. Spofford, editor of the Episcopal weekly *Witness*; Judge Stanley Moffat of Southgate, Calif.; Nelson Bengtson, New York; Waldo Frank; R. L. Robertson, president of the Inter-continental Student Service Committee, Chicago; F. Woods Beckman, former president, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Knoxville; Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S. Army, retired; Lillian E. Comey, director, weekday religious education, Ohio Council of Churches, Columbus; Robert J. Heifetz of New York, son of the violinist and a city planner; Daniel Howard, superintendent of schools emeritus of Windsor, Conn., and Leo F. Koch, president of the School of Living, Santa Cruz, Calif.

"It is important," the statement said, "that American youth be represented by many individuals from all walks of life."

Initiators of the statement were: Rev. George A. Ackerly, New York; Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet, publisher of the San Francisco *San Reporter*; Arthur D. Pratt Jr., president, Flynn Christian Fellow-

ship Houses, Baltimore, Md., and Sidney Gluck, New York.

The Youth Festivals have been the subject of controversy both here and abroad. President Kekkonen of Finland recently called upon unfriendly Finnish youth organizations to cooperate in maintaining a cordial atmosphere when the 18,000 young people from all corners of the globe converge on the capital.

The United States Festival Committee, organizer of the U.S. delegation, announced that 548 applications have been received. The committee seeks to arrange accommodations for 100 in excess of the anticipated 400 delegates. Among participants will be official observers or delegates from national and local organizations. These include: University of North Carolina, Trade Union Leadership Council of Detroit, the Harvard Tocsin and the Columbia Spectator.

The U.S. group will present the Adam Darius ballet troupe, the Andrew Sisters, gospel singers; the Archie Shepp Jazz Quartet, and the Apollos, a blues quartet. A theater company from Stanford University and a number of other professional performers will participate.

The U.S. committee needs \$4,700 for its work and to provide scholarships. Contributions should be sent to the U.S. Festival Committee, 460 Park Ave. So., New York.

Mr. NITTLE. While your name has been publicly associated with such activities as were related here, has any public announcement been made of your participation as treasurer in the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. GLUCK. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Where was that public announcement made?

Just on the letterhead? Has it appeared in any other publication?

Mr. GLUCK. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you were invited to serve as treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, after discussions with Dr. Louis Miller, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I invoke the privileges under the fifth amendment, not to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dr. Louis Miller to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLUCK. I answered that before.

Mr. NITTLE. I am sorry. I didn't recollect it.

Mr. GLUCK. Well, I was just trying to help.

Mr. WILLIS. And the answer was the invocation of the fifth amendment?

Mr. GLUCK. The answer was that I don't know him to be a member.

Mr. WILLIS. No quarrel. I just did not remember your answer.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GLUCK. I have a statement to make, then.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Do you have another witness?

Mr. NITTLE. The rules of the committee require that any statement be submitted 48 hours in advance.

* * * * *

Mr. MOULDER. Do you think we should hear another witness or wait until in the morning?

Mr. WILLIS. It depends on how long he is going to be.

Mr. NITTLE. About 10 minutes.

Mr. MOULDER. We will call the next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Albert S. Baker.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BAKER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT S. BAKER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name for the record, please.

Mr. BAKER. My name is Albert S. Baker. Interchangeably, also used as Samuel Albert Baker—Albert Samuel Baker or Samuel Albert Baker.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you used any other name, Mr. Baker?

Mr. BAKER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and address?

Mr. REIN. The reporter has my name and address. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born, Mr. Baker?

Mr. BAKER. I was born in Russia.

Mr. NITTLE. When were you born in Russia?

Mr. BAKER. October 28, 1888.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been known by any name other than Albert S. Baker or Samuel Albert Baker while resident in the United States?

Mr. BAKER. I have not.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you arrive in the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. BAKER. I don't remember the exact date. The month was June 1906.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your present residence?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, sir. My present residence is 70 LaSalle Street, New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. BAKER. I would say the equivalent of a university, without actual graduation.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend a university?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I attended night courses at the University of Pennsylvania in 1914.

Mr. NITTLE. For how long a period of time?

Mr. BAKER. I would say for a period of 6 months.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BAKER. I am retired.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the principal occupation you held before your retirement?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I was primarily, for the longest period of my life, an accountant, an investigating accountant, and also a psychologist.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you retire?

Mr. BAKER. I retired in 1953.

Mr. NITTLE. The records and testimony indicate that you have served in the capacity of secretary-treasurer of the organization known as Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Mr. BAKER. May I offer a correction at this point? Treasurer; I wasn't secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. What offices have you held within the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Treasurer.

Mr. WILLIS. Was that from the period of its formation?

Mr. BAKER. From, I would say, October 16 until February 27.

Mr. WILLIS. Of this year?

Mr. BAKER. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Commencing October 16, 1961; is that right?

Mr. BAKER. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a resolution dated January 9, 1962, marked for identification as Baker Exhibit No. 1, subscribed to by you as secretary of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, certifying that those persons holding office in that organization as of January 2, 1962, are Mrs. Melitta del Villar, chairman, and Albert S. Baker, secretary-treasurer, and that the signatures set opposite are the genuine signatures of those persons named.

Mr. BAKER. The correction that I have made before still stands good, because the actual minutes of the organization would reflect the fact that I was appointed as treasurer.

Mr. NITTLE. Only?

Mr. BAKER. I have used at times my title secretary-treasurer, because it was implied that while I was treasurer, since there wasn't any secretary, I was also secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a copy of a resolution dated April 2, 1962, marked for identification as Baker Exhibit No. 2, subscribed to by Rose Apolloni, recording secretary of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, certifying that those persons holding office in that organization as of March 27, 1962, are Melitta del Villar, chairman; Albert S. Baker, vice chairman; Sidney J. Gluck, treasurer; and Rose Apolloni, recording secretary, and that the signatures set opposite their typed names and offices are genuine signatures of the persons named.

Is that your signature on that corporate resolution?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, sir, it is.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, in addition to serving as secretary of the organization, have you, as the certification indicates, served as vice chairman of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. There is an explanation to this. Miss Apolloni, who evidently was not aware of the fact that I had been substituted as vice chairman, or put in as vice chairman, for one or two meetings when Mrs. del Villar was ill—actually, I was not vice chairman of the committee, and as the record of the committee will indicate now, I am not vice chairman of the committee.

(Documents marked "Baker Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2" follow:)

BAKER EXHIBIT NO. 1

I, ALBERT S. BAKER, hereby certify that
 I am Secy. TREAS., and the official
 custodian of the records of MEDICAL AID TO CUBA COMMITTEE,
 an unincorporated Association doing business in NEW YORK,
 including the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws and the minutes of the meetings of the Members and
 the COMMITTEE thereof; and do further certify that the
 following is a true copy of certain resolutions duly adopted by the Members and the COMMITTEE
 of said Association, at meetings thereof duly called and held on the 2ND
 day of JANUARY, 1962.

Resolved, that the officers and agents of this Association be and they hereby are, and each
 of them is, authorized to deposit any of the funds of this Association from time to time with
 THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK which is hereby designated as a depository of this Association,
 and until further order of the Members and the COMMITTEE to withdraw the same
 from time to time upon checks or drafts or other instruments or orders for the payment of money,
 drawn against the account or in the name or in behalf of this Association, and made or signed by any
OFFICER of the following:

(State Number to Sign)

Secy. TREAS. ALBERT S. BAKER
CHAIRMAN MRS. MELITTA DEL VILLAR

and be it

Further Resolved, that THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK be and it hereby
 is authorized and requested to accept, honor, cash and pay without limit as to amount, without further
 inquiry and until written notice of the revocation of the authority hereby granted is actually received
 by said bank, all checks, drafts and other instruments and orders for the payment of money when
 drawn, made, signed or endorsed as by the foregoing resolution provided, whether the same be
 drawn against an account standing in the name of this Association, or in the name of any such
 officer or agent of this Association as such, including all such instruments payable or endorsed to the
 order of this Association and/or payable or endorsed to the personal order of the officer or officers or
 agent or agents signing on behalf of this Association or any other officer or officers or agent or agents
 of this Association, or otherwise, whether tendered in payment of the individual obligation or deposited
 to the personal account of any such officer or officers or agent or agents, or otherwise,

and be it

Further Resolved, that all the foregoing authorities shall be and continue in full force
 and effect until revoked or modified by written notice actually received by said THE AMALGAMATED BANK
 of New York setting forth resolutions to that effect stated to have been adopted by the Members and
 the COMMITTEE of this Association, signed by the officer of this Association who is the official
 custodian of its records, including the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws and the minutes of meetings,
 and containing a certification by the President of this Association that such officer is such official custodian,
 and bearing this Association's seal, if any, and said THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK is
 hereby authorized and directed to at all times rely upon the last notice received by it of any resolution
 as to the foregoing authorities and as to the persons who from time to time are its officers, and their
 signatures, when such notice is signed by persons purporting to be such official custodian and President.

I further certify that none of the foregoing resolutions has been modified or repealed, but that
 each thereof is in full force and effect.

I further certify that the foregoing resolutions are fully in accord with and pursuant to the
 constitution, charter or by-laws of said Association.

I further certify that the following are the genuine signatures of the persons now holding office
 in said Association as indicated opposite their respective titles.

NAME	TITLE	SPECIMEN SIGNATURE
MRS. MELITTA DEL VILLAR	CHAIRMAN	<i>Melitta del Villar</i>
ALBERT S. BAKER	Secy. TREAS.	<i>Albert S. Baker</i>

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of said
 Association this 9th day of JAN, 1962

[Seal]

Albert S. Baker
 Secretary

I, President of
 do hereby certify that on the 9th day of JAN, 1962,
 who signed and attested the foregoing,

was and now is the duly qualified and acting
 of said Association and that he was and is duly authorized by the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws
 to certify to the minutes and proceedings of the Members and the
 of said Association, and to affix the seal of said Association to such certificate.

Melitta del Villar

BAKER EXHIBIT NO. 2

Recording Secretary
(Official Title)
certifies that the records of *MELITTA DEL VILLAR A. T. O. C. N. Y. C. 1974. 33 St.*
an unincorporated Association doing business in *New York City*
including the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws and the minutes of the meetings of the Members and the
thereof; and do further certify that the
following is a true copy of certain resolutions duly adopted by the Members and the *Officers*
of said Association, at meetings thereof duly called and held on the *27th*
day of *March*, 1962.

Resolved, that the officers and agents of this Association be and they hereby are, and each of them is, authorized to deposit any of the funds of this Association from time to time with THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK which is hereby designated as a depository of this Association, and until further order of the Members and the *Officers* to withdraw the same from time to time upon checks or drafts or other instruments or orders for the payment of money, drawn against the account or in the name or in behalf of this Association, and made or signed by any *Officer* of the following:
(State Number to Sign)

MELITTA DEL VILLAR *SIDNEY J. GLUCK*
ALBERT S. BAKER *Rose Apolloni*

and be it

Further Resolved, that THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK be and it hereby is authorized and requested to accept, honor, cash and pay without limit as to amount, without further inquiry and until written notice of the revocation of the authority hereby granted is actually received by said bank, all checks, drafts and other instruments and orders for the payment of money when drawn, made, signed or endorsed as by the foregoing resolution provided, whether the same be drawn against an account standing in the name of this Association, or in the name of any such officer or agent of this Association as such, including all such instruments payable or endorsed to the order of this Association and/or payable or endorsed to the personal order of the officer or officers or agent or agents signing on behalf of this Association or any other officer or officers or agent or agents of this Association, or otherwise, whether tendered in payment of the individual obligation or deposited to the personal account of any such officer or officers or agent or agents, or otherwise,

and be it

Further Resolved, that all the foregoing authorities shall be and continue in full force and effect until revoked or modified by written notice actually received by said THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK setting forth resolutions to that effect stated to have been adopted by the Members and the *Officers* of this Association, signed by the officer of this Association who is the official custodian of its records, including the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws and the minutes of meetings, and containing a certification by the President of this Association that such officer is such official custodian, and bearing this Association's seal, if any; and said THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK is hereby authorized and directed to at all times rely upon the last notice received by it of any resolution as to the foregoing authorities and as to the persons who from time to time are its officers, and their signatures, when such notice is signed by persons purporting to be such official custodian and President;

I further certify that none of the foregoing resolutions has been modified or repealed, but that each thereof is in full force and effect.

I further certify that the foregoing resolutions are fully in accord with and pursuant to the constitution, charter or by-laws of said Association.

I further certify that the following are the genuine signatures of the persons now holding office in said Association as indicated opposite their respective titles.

NAME	TITLE	SPECIMEN SIGNATURE
Melitta Del Villar	Chairman	<i>Melitta Del Villar</i>
Albert S. Baker	Vice-Chairman	<i>Albert S. Baker</i>
<i>X</i> Sidney J. Gluck	Treasurer	<i>Sidney J. Gluck</i>
Rose Apolloni	Recording Secretary	<i>Rose Apolloni</i>

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of said Association this *2nd* day of *April*, 1962

(Seal)

X *Rose Apolloni*
Secretary

Chairman
I, *President of Medical Aid to Cuba Comm*
do hereby certify that on the *2nd* day of *April*, 1962,
Rose Apolloni who signed and attested the foregoing,
was and now is the duly qualified and acting *Recording Secretary*
of said Association and that he was and is duly authorized by the Constitution, Charter or By-Laws
to certify to the minutes and proceedings of the Members and the
of said Association, and to affix the seal of said Association to such certificate.

X *Melitta del Villar*
President

Mr. NITTLE. That certification was for representation to the particular bank involved, wasn't it?

Mr. BAKER. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And amounted to a certification of your office in the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. I would say at the time I was temporarily treasurer of the committee. The reason I said previously that I was not, was because I was not permanent vice chairman. I was vice chairman only for a temporary period.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you received any salary or compensation for services performed by you in an official capacity for the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. None whatsoever, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Our information indicates that you have had access to the books and records of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee since its inception. Is that correct?

Mr. BAKER. That is correct. Since its inception, but not continuously.

Mr. NITTLE. What were the circumstances under which you became associated with the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Well, there was an appeal made, I believe, and I had found out about it and I was interested in its humanitarian objectives and so I joined it as a member.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you undertake your work in the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee at the request, suggestion, or direction of any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAKER. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you solicited as an officer by the lady who testified this morning and this afternoon?

Mr. BAKER. I was not.

Mr. WILLIS. How did you become a member? Or how did you become an official?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I heard of the objectives of the committee from people who were interested in charitable enterprises, because I am always interested in doing humanitarian work. And so I volunteered, since I am a retired man—I volunteered my services.

Mr. WILLIS. To whom did you talk concerning your appointment as treasurer?

Mr. BAKER. Whom did I talk about?

Mr. WILLIS. Whom did you talk to?

Mr. BAKER. There was a group meeting of people, who asked me at the time, whether or not, since I have sufficient time, whether or not I would volunteer to be a treasurer of the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Who were those people? Would that include the lady who testified this morning, and Dr. Louis Miller? And who else?

Mr. BAKER. Dr. Louis Miller was not a member of the committee at that time. If I remember correctly, Mrs. del Villar was.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Dr. Louis Miller?

Mr. BAKER. I have not known Dr. Louis Miller.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first become acquainted with him?

Mr. BAKER. I have become acquainted with Dr. Louis Miller when he joined the committee, sometime in, I would say, in November 1961; late November or early December.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you first hear of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. I am not certain. I believe it was an announcement either in the *Monthly Review*, to which I am a subscriber, or perhaps elsewhere. And I am not completely certain.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you also a subscriber to the *National Guardian*?

Mr. BAKER. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a subscriber of *The Worker*?

Mr. BAKER. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you subscribe to *New Masses*?

Mr. BAKER. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you subscribe to *Political Affairs*?

Mr. BAKER. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever subscribe to those publications?

Mr. BAKER. No, sir, at no time.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, our information further indicates that, during the initial period of the establishment of this organization, you retained personal possession of the funds of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. Under what circumstances did these funds come into your possession?

Mr. BAKER. Well, quite simply. The committee at that time was in its period of formation. No formal bank account was permitted, because we couldn't present a resolution on formation of the committee. The committee requested whether or not I, as treasurer, would utilize my personal account temporarily until a permanent account is opened, which was eventually opened at the Amalgamated.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you deliver the possession of the funds that you personally had in your possession to the account of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I don't remember the exact date, but I would say it was at the beginning of January of this year—most likely January of this year.

Mr. NITTLE. And how much did you deposit to the account of the committee at that time?

Mr. BAKER. \$1,053.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the source of that money?

Mr. BAKER. Well, there were contributions that were sent in over a period from October 16 to the date in question, contributions minus expenditures.

Mr. NITTLE. You indicated that you first acquired knowledge of the formation of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee by reading an announcement of that fact in the *Monthly Review*, is that correct?

Mr. BAKER. It is possible.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, I said isn't that what you said?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, I said that.

Mr. REIN. He said he wasn't sure. I think the record should be clear on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Would I be accurately stating the facts, if I were to suggest that the first public announcement of the formation of this committee appeared in the January 1962 issue of *Monthly Review* and in the February 19, 1962, issue of the *National Guardian* and that these were the first announcements, publicly, of the formation of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I said when I gave you the answer that I wasn't certain exactly where, but it occurred to me, since I had read them in both—

Mr. NITTLE. Well, now, will you tell us where you first heard of the formation of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. I do not remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Your activity as treasurer of this organization was certainly an important event in your life. And you do not remember the occasion, or the circumstances, under which it first came to your attention?

Mr. BAKER. No, I wouldn't be able to exactly pinpoint the date because, first of all, I am not, as my birth date would indicate, I am not a youngster any more. I am 74 years of age and, at times, I may forget certain things.

Mr. NITTLE. You did not forget how much money you delivered in January, money in your possession, to the account of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Correct. Because there was a check made out for that amount.

Mr. NITTLE. And you did not forget that October 16, 1961, I believe you stated, was the date when you first became associated with the committee?

Mr. BAKER. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. But you do forget, or do not remember, the circumstances under which this organization first came to your attention?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, you are talking about dates now. He does not remember the dates, he says. I think that might be acceptable. It would seem strange to me, sir, that you can't remember the people to whom you talked about it. That is hard for me to understand.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Corliss Lamont one of the early financial contributors to the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. I do not know, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know of Corliss Lamont?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, I heard him at lectures.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you received any funds into your possession which had their origin with Corliss Lamont?

Mr. REIN. I don't think that is a fair question. Funds which had their origin from Corliss Lamont?

This witness wouldn't know where funds may have originated. I don't think that is a fair question.

Mr. WILLIS. Ask him does he remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you remember?

Mr. BAKER. I can't remember every contribution made, because there were numerous contributions made to the committee from various sources. The committee was a charitable organization and made an appeal several times, and funds were coming in.

Mr. SCHERER. Does that show by the records of the committee? Does the committee keep a record of those who contributed?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, the committee kept a record. The committee has an exact record of all contributions made to it. The committee has a set of books.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Baker, I suggest that a detailed account of the source of funds has not been kept by the committee. I say that on the basis that our information and investigation indicates that you have received funds on behalf of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee which have been credited to sources generally described only as "friends of Dr. Miller."

Will you tell us who the "friends of Dr. Miller" were from whom your organization has received funds?

Mr. BAKER. I cannot tell you that, sir, because this particular question is completely groundless. It is not based on fact. There were no contributions ever made by any friends of Dr. Miller's; not to my knowledge, not while I was treasurer of the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Dr. Louis Miller make any contribution to the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee at the time of its formation?

Mr. BAKER. Yes. As far as I believe, Dr. Miller made several contributions.

Mr. NITTLE. About how much money has passed through your hands as treasurer of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I should imagine—I wouldn't be able to state exactly at this point—but I would imagine that from October 16 to the date when the money was deposited in the formal bank account, approximately maybe \$2,500 or \$3,000.

Mr. NITTLE. I don't recollect whether I asked whether you knew Sidney J. Gluck.

Mr. BAKER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Sidney J. Gluck?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I met him when he had become treasurer after I had resigned. Prior to that, I never knew him.

Mr. NITTLE. What position do you hold with the organization now, if any?

Mr. BAKER. None whatsoever.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you withdraw from the organization?

Mr. BAKER. Well, I would say I withdrew from the organization approximately in May or late April, when I was beginning to get indications that I have trouble with my eyesight and it was indicated that I had a cataract.

Mr. NITTLE. You are an accountant by occupation or profession?

Mr. BAKER. Well, yes, I was doing accounting work. I mean I was not a CPA. I was doing accounting work primarily, most of the time as an investigating accountant, or investigator.

Mr. NITTLE. May it be described as your contribution to the organization that you set up the books for it?

Mr. BAKER. Hardly. Because while I was treasurer, which, even at the time—I had stated that I would serve only temporarily because my health was not too good.

At the time, there was what I would call a memorandum account, in other words, cash coming in and expenses paid, various vouchers paid out for various services that the organization had incurred.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled abroad during the course of the past 10 years?

Mr. BAKER. During the past 10 years?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BAKER. Why, yes, I traveled.

Mr. NITTLE. And what are the places and dates of your visits?

Mr. BAKER. I should like to consult with my attorney.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. BAKER. What bearing would my travels, whether I was in India or whether I was in South Africa or elsewhere, have on the question?

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Chairman, I think this question is proper.

I think we owe it to you and to ourselves and we imply nothing by it.

Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAKER. No. I am not now and nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, I think your travel is probably important, if it is connected with that committee.

Mr. REIN. The question is not connected with the committee.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you re-form your question, so as to make it more pertinent?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled to Cuba in the last 10 years?

Mr. BAKER. I have.

Mr. NITTLE. When was the date of your last visit?

Mr. BAKER. 1961, prior to the rupture of diplomatic relations.

Mr. NITTLE. How many times did you visit Cuba prior to 1961?

Mr. BAKER. Once.

Mr. NITTLE. Just in 1961?

Mr. BAKER. No, in 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. What date in 1960 did you visit?

Mr. BAKER. Well, in April 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, have you visited——

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Before you leave Cuba—What were the occasions of those visits?

Mr. BAKER. What were the occasions?

Mr. SCHERER. What were the occasions for the two visits?

Mr. BAKER. What were the occasions? Well, I was first of all seeking a place to rest up and, secondly, I am a person who is quite interested in what is going on in other parts of the world and I have never been to Cuba before. I have had some leisure. I thought that the Cuban climate was very good and I went to Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled to Europe?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, I traveled to Europe.

Mr. NITTLE. What countries did you visit?

Mr. REIN. Mr. Chairman, I thought that those questions had been ruled out, as I understood it.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you be more specific?

Mr. NITTLE. Have you traveled behind the Iron Curtain within the past 5 years?

Mr. BAKER. Gentlemen, I should like to cooperate with your committee. But, at this point, I must say that I am ill. I am here in spite of the fact that I am only just off my bed from a cataract operation. Now, any questions pertinent to the committee, to the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, of which, by the way, I am not now an officer or a member, I will gladly cooperate and answer. But if you are going to start in on what, if you will pardon my expression, fishing expeditions, I will have to refuse to answer, under my privilege. I will invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. REIN. Mr. Chairman, may I pass up to the chairman of the committee a medical statement in connection with this witness? We have not used it as an excuse, but I do want to—

Mr. MOULDER. Have you made any trip to any foreign country behind the Iron Curtain in connection with the interest of the Communist cause or international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. BAKER. In the interest of what?

Mr. MOULDER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAKER. Never. Under no circumstances. You just heard my answer under oath that I never have been, nor am I now, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Then what is the purpose of the examination, or the questions?

Mr. BAKER. What is the purpose of what?

Mr. MOULDER. I am asking counsel what is the purpose of this question, questions about travel overseas.

Mr. NITTLE. I was going to inquire whether he had traveled abroad with Dr. Louis Miller at any time.

Mr. BAKER. Absolutely not. I didn't know Dr. Louis Miller, as I told you. I am answering questions here under oath. And everything I tell you is the truth, because I have sworn to tell you the truth. I have not met nor known Dr. Miller until he joined the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this, and in the same vein as I did a while ago.

Did you know then, or have you known since, that Dr. Miller was or had been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAKER. No, not at all. I didn't know anything about Dr. Miller until he joined the committee. As a matter of fact, I never heard of his name.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, my question was: In the past and currently, did you know then, before, or since meeting him, that he was then or had been a member of the party?

Mr. BAKER. I did not, sir. I knew nothing about his background.

Mr. SCHIERER. Now the record is not clear. Because I think counsel's question is a very pertinent question, namely, whether this man has traveled behind the Iron Curtain in the last—how many years?

Mr. NITTLE. Five years.

Mr. MOULDER. Is there any reason why you should not answer that question?

Mr. BAKER. I will tell you what the reason is that I should not answer the question—because it is not pertinent to the investigation at present. You are investigating the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, my connection with it. And what I did in 1958 or 1959, before there was any such committee, I don't see the relevancy of this question.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, let it go.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't think the record is clear yet. He started to say he was going to invoke the fifth amendment. Now, my recollection is that in the discussion there was no indication of invoking the fifth amendment in response to the question of counsel.

Mr. MOULDER. I asked him why he could not answer the question.

Mr. BAKER. I will simplify it for you gentlemen.

I invoked the fifth amendment to the Constitution in refusing to answer this question.

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Baker, who is Bertha Friedman?

Mr. BAKER. Bertha Friedman?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. BAKER. I don't know Bertha Friedman.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know Bertha Friedman, who lived at 100 LaSalle Street on February 23, 1962? You don't know her?

Mr. BAKER. Well, there are several Friedmans in the development, and I have been in the development now 5 years and I am on good terms with a number of the tenants, and there may be a Friedman there, Bertha Friedman.

Mr. SCHERER. There may be a Bertha Friedman, but you do not know her? You lived on LaSalle Street, too; did you not?

Mr. BAKER. That is right. I lived on 70 LaSalle Street.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you live there now?

Mr. BAKER. I just stated under oath my name and address. Now, you are just occupying your own precious time and mine. I am not feeling well. These questions, to my mind, if you will pardon my saying so, are redundant, because you know where I live.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry. I may not have been paying attention. I may not remember where you live. Now, I just don't know.

It is simple for him to say whether he lives at 70 LaSalle Street or not.

Mr. BAKER. I do live at 70 LaSalle Street. Correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, when Mrs. Amster, or Mrs. del Villar, was on the stand, she was asked about a telegram which was addressed to Mrs. Bertha Friedman, 100 LaSalle Street, on February 23, 1962, reading:

Our toast to Rebecca, all the chicks there, patient husbands and silent partner. Love. Pat O'Morte.

And it is my recollection that she said that that was a humorous telegram sent in connection with some kind of a celebration involving you.

Mr. BAKER. Calling for what? I didn't get that.

Mr. SCHERER. It was a humorous telegram sent by her, and she signed the name "Pat O'Morte," and it was sent in connection with some kind of a celebration or activity in which you were involved.

Mr. BAKER. What is your question, sir?

What is the question to me—not to Melitta—to me, now?

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know anything about this telegram?

Mr. BAKER. No, I do not. I have no recollection of this telegram whatsoever.

(See del Villar Exhibit No. 23, p. 1946.)

Mr. SCHERER. How is it, then, that your name appears on this telegram—and I will show it to you, Albert S. Baker—in the bottom right-hand corner, as subscriber? I think that is it.

Mr. BAKER. Subscriber to what? I don't know. There is no signature of mine. I don't know what it means. It is my name, but I didn't send the telegram. I had nothing to do with it. I don't remember the telegram.

Mr. SCHERER. Can you explain why your name would appear on that telegram, Albert S. Baker, down in the right-hand corner?

Mr. BAKER. I am sorry. I can't explain why. I didn't receive the telegram and I didn't send the telegram.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all I wanted to know.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you the treasurer of the organization at this time?

Mr. BAKER. On February 23? I still was. I had resigned on February the 27th. So probably it was just put there because of that. I haven't sent it.

Mr. SCHERER. I mean, did you pay the telegraphic accounts? That is what I have been asking?

Mr. BAKER. Very likely. Because this is such a small item that I wouldn't remember exactly what was paid or how it was done.

Mr. SCHERER. You were here, were you not, during the testimony of Mrs. Amster?

Mr. BAKER. Yes, I had been here. But I have been more or less remotely away from the place where she was testifying and I haven't heard everything that she testified about.

Mr. SCHERER. You have no knowledge, then, of this telegram or why it was sent to Mrs. Friedman in the very development in which you live?

Mr. BAKER. Absolutely not.

Mr. SCHERER. You heard her testimony, did you not, that this telegram was sent in connection with some celebration in which you were involved?

Mr. BAKER. I believe I have explained, and I hope satisfactorily, that I haven't heard everything that was testified to.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you didn't hear everything. But I was wondering whether or not you heard that part of her testimony?

Mr. BAKER. I did not hear it because, frankly speaking, I was more or less in torture, here, most of the day. I was expecting to be called early in the morning, so I could get away. I thought it would take maybe 15 minutes to a half hour. When the gentleman came to serve the subpoena, I had just had my stitches taken out and I appeared at the door with the patch on my eye.

And I am perfectly willing to cooperate with the committee, but I am not going to try to imagine things, or answer yes to things, when I know nothing about them.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. All right, the committee will be adjourned until 10 a.m. tomorrow morning.

Mr. REIN. This witness is excused?

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p.m., Wednesday, November 14, 1962, the committee adjourned until 10 a.m., November 15, 1962.)

U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS

(Medical Aid to Cuba Committee and Friends of British Guiana)

Part 2

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Morgan F. Moulder, of Missouri; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, also present, Representative Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Louis J. Russell and Neil E. Watterman, investigators.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

I would like to remind the photographers that we have two witnesses appearing, you understand, of whom we do not wish to have pictures taken.

Would you call your first witness?

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Emilio V. Soto.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SOTO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EMILIO V. SOTO

Mr. MOULDER. Be seated, please.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name, please?

Dr. SOTO. My full name. My first name is Emilio—E-m-i-l-i-o. My initial is V, and my last name is S-o-t-o.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Dr. SOTO. I am a medical doctor. And I have always been a doctor and a pediatrician. I am working at Fairfax Hospital in Falls Church, Va. And I was previously working in Georgia as a pediatrician, too, and in Miami, at the Variety Children's Hospital.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Dr. Soto. Well, I am a self-made man. I came from a poor family. My father was attached to the Justice Department in my country. I was born in a small town in Cuba.

I had my high school education in Cuba, and my medical education in Cuba. Then I won a scholarship and came over to this country in 1935, where I went to the University of Pennsylvania, and where I got my M.D. in pediatrics.

I worked as a resident in pediatrics at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, and then I went to Hopkins, where I worked at the Harriet Lane Hospital, in Baltimore, from 1937 up to 1938.

Then I left this country, and I began to practice pediatrics in Havana, Cuba, and I was also attached to the University of Havana, working for the Department of Pediatrics.

And what else would you like to know?

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in Cuba after your return there in 1938?

Dr. Soto. Well, I began to practice in Cuba around 1940, 1942, and I remained until exactly the 21st of August 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. And then you came to the United States?

Dr. Soto. Yes; I came to the United States with my whole family.

Mr. NITTLE. And you have remained here since?

Dr. Soto. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you associated with any hospitals in Cuba?

Dr. Soto. Yes. I was connected with—I was the appointed chief of the Newborn and Premature Services at the Maternity Hospital in Havana, Cuba, and I worked as a Chairman of Pediatrics there since 1943, up to 1960, when I left my country.

I was also engaged in private practice, doing only pediatrics, as I told you before.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee received testimony yesterday from a Melitta del Villar, who is the chairman of a committee called the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee.

Dr. Soto. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In the course of the testimony, it became apparent that she was in correspondence with a hospital in Havana known as the Hospital Nacional and with a Dr. Martha Frayde, who is evidently in a position of leadership in that hospital.

Do you know of the Hospital Nacional in Havana, Cuba?

Dr. Soto. First of all, I don't know the lady mentioned. I never heard of her, the former lady mentioned.

The doctor you mentioned, I know, and I know—

Mr. NITTLE. When you say you weren't familiar with the lady I mentioned, I assume you are referring to Melitta del Villar?

Dr. Soto. Yes. I never heard of her.

Mr. NITTLE. First, are you familiar with the Hospital Nacional?

Dr. Soto. Yes. I presume that the Hospital Nacional was—probably the name has been changed, but I never heard of a Hospital Nacional in Havana. Probably it was named after Castro was in power. Probably was built up in previous government or in Batista's government, and it was taken over by Castro, I presume, but I was never there.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you left Cuba, were you familiar with a hospital named Hospital Nacional in Havana?

Dr. Soto. Well, it was not open, so I couldn't be familiar with a hospital that wasn't open.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Dr. Martha Frayde?

Dr. Soto. Yes; I do. Not personally, but I know who is Martha Frayde.

Mr. NITTLE. And who is she?

Dr. Soto. She is a notorious Communist in my country.

Mr. NITTLE. What is the source of your information?

Dr. Soto. Well, you see, I have belonged to all the medical societies in my country, and right away, I was the president of the Cuban Pediatric Society when I left my country. I also—I am going to tell you this, because to let you know that I was related with many doctors in Cuba, so I know what I am talking about——

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me.

It is still a little difficult to hear up here. Could you move the microphone a little farther away from you?

Dr. Soto. Oh, I am sorry.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the woman doctor's name?

Dr. Soto. Martha Frayde.

Mr. SCHERER. Repeat that, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Martha Frayde—F-r-a-y-d-e.

Mr. WILLIS. And is she the doctor who signed the letter that Mrs. del Villar referred to yesterday?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir; she was in correspondence with Melitta del Villar and Dr. Louis Miller.

Mr. SCHERER. Wasn't she the principal contact with the representatives of this Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And you testified that you know her as a notorious Communist?

Dr. Soto. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. In Cuba?

Mr. WILLIS. And he was now about to talk about his background of knowledge of medicine and doctors and professional people as part of his testimony.

Dr. Soto. I was saying that I was connected with all the scientific medical institutions in Cuba, and I do know who is Martha Frayde, because, first of all, her father was a professor of medical chemistry at the University of Havana, and he was my professor, too, so from a long time, I knew that Martha Frayde was a Communist.

I don't know Martha Frayde personally. I mean, I never talked to her about whether she was a Communist or not, but everyone, every single doctor I talked with in Cuba, knew that Dr. Martha Frayde was a Communist.

Mr. WILLIS. And that is why you said she was a "notorious Communist"?

Dr. Soto. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. That is why you chose that word?

Dr. Soto. Yes, because every time I talked to my colleagues, since I was not a Communist and I was very much against that doctrine, I became acquainted that she was a Communist.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Nittle, do I understand that we had some evidence in the file that she, herself, is an admitted Communist? She admits she is a Communist?

Dr. SOTO. I think so. She never denied that, I guess.

Mr. MOULDER. One would have to, if they remain in Cuba, now?

Dr. SOTO. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MOULDER. One would have to admit it in Cuba today?

Dr. SOTO. I believe so.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the medical clinics under the control of the Cuban Government?

Dr. SOTO. Absolutely. Every one of them are—no; not from the beginning, but now they are under the control, so they are practicing now what they call socialized medicine under the Communist regime.

Mr. NITTLE. Is medical treatment dispensed to all persons regardless of political affiliations in Cuba?

Dr. SOTO. Well, I couldn't answer you that question correctly, because I left Cuba in August 1960, and at the time I was there, you know the Communists were not absolutely unmasked, so they tried to get along with most of the people. I didn't even know absolutely whether were Communists or not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any experience with the Castro government?

Dr. SOTO. Yes; I know Castro personally, having taken care of his son since he was 4 months of age, when the child was brought from the Oriente Province to my office.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first become acquainted with Castro?

Dr. SOTO. Exactly when he was 23 years of age, and the child was 4 months of age, and that was in February 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. Over what period of time did you treat Castro's son?

Dr. SOTO. Well, up until I left Cuba, because in 1960, Castro's son had an automobile accident from which he was very sick, and he was taken down to surgery, and the spleen was removed. He was in a critical condition, and I took care of the child as a pediatrician, and I was very much acquainted with the surgeon that took care of this child, and the surgeon's name was Rodriguez-Diaz, who was at that time the best surgeon we had.

Mr. SCHERER. You were the family doctor, then?

Dr. SOTO. Yes, I was.

Mr. SCHERER. For Castro's children or child?

Dr. SOTO. The only member of Castro's family I know, unfortunately, is Mr. Castro, himself, but on the other side, you see, I know Castro's former wife very well, and this is the only child they had, the one that I mentioned, but Castro's former wife married again to a young lawyer that I know very well.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Nittle's question was over how long a period were you the pediatrician and/or the family doctor for Castro's son.

Dr. SOTO. I believe since the child was four months of age up till the time I left Cuba. That doesn't mean that the child could not have been examined by some other doctors, but I was called many times, almost every year, to see the child.

Mr. SCHERER. And how many years was that?

Dr. SOTO. Ten years.

Mr. SCHERER. Ten years.

Mr. NITTLE. Is there anything else you would like to tell us with respect to the use of medical supplies and assistance in Cuba that may be received from the United States?

Dr. Soto. Well, I am willing to answer any questions you would like to ask me specifically.

The only thing I do know is that at the time I left my country, there was a shortage of medicines in Cuba, and that, I think—the shortage—was created by Castro, himself. It was not a real fact, and I don't believe it was a real fact, because still the American manufacturers were there, and they were supplying medicine to the medical profession, so at the time I was there—and I say, at the time I was there—probably the shortage was created by Castro, who wanted to blame it on your country.

Mr. WILLIS. I missed that last statement.

Dr. Soto. I said definitely that the shortage of medicine in 1960, when I left Cuba, was created by Castro, himself.

Mr. WILLIS. In what way?

Dr. Soto. He wanted to blame it on your countrymen. He wanted to make your country responsible for the shortage of medicine, and I don't believe that was true, because in Cuba, you know, I was very much acquainted with all the manufacturers, the American manufacturers that were there, and so, for instance, I can name Lederle, Squibb, Lilly's, and some others that were still supplying medicine to our medical profession.

Mr. WILLIS. And he wanted to portray a situation that there was a shortage, in order to blame our country for that, for not being humanitarian toward the people of Cuba? Is that it?

Dr. Soto. Yes, that is correct. It is what I wanted to say.

Mr. SCHERER. Did these drug companies that you just named have branch offices or factories, or wholesale warehouses in Cuba?

Dr. Soto. Yes, and they were very well known in my country as in yours, because the medical profession in my country as well as in yours is helped by these companies, because we do some research, and they gave us some grants to do this research that we were about to accomplish in any amount of time, so we were acquainted with these manufacturers. That is the reason why we knew that the manufacturers were there, they had enough supplies, and they had been in Cuba for many years.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Now, have the properties of these drug manufacturers in Cuba which you named been taken over by the Cuban Government?

Dr. Soto. Sure, they have been. And my properties, too.

Mr. WILLIS. Your properties?

Dr. Soto. My house. I owned one property. My office—that I rented; and my house—that was mine, and that is the only property I ever had as a doctor. I didn't have any more properties in my country.

Mr. WILLIS. And that was taken over.

Dr. Soto. Absolutely.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, were you compensated for it?

Dr. Soto. Compensated?

Mr. WILLIS. Paid for it.

Dr. Soto. I don't think I was ever compensated.

Mr. MOULDER. Going back to Dr. Frayde. I hesitate to interrupt the line of questioning, but did you understand or know her to be a notorious Communist prior to the Castro regime?

Dr. SOTO. Prior to Castro's regime, no one was acquainted with communism in Cuba, because the Cuban people—you know, first of all, Cuba was not a subdeveloped country, as they claim; and, second, we were very happy, jolly people that always live in peace, and we were not acquainted with the Communists at all.

In other words, we people of Cuba—I am a middle-class member of the Cuban society—I never thought that Cuba would have ever been taken over by Communists, so I didn't have—I didn't know Martha Frayde as a notorious Communist before Castro came in power.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you know her as a Communist at that time? Before?

Dr. SOTO. No, not before.

Mr. MOULDER. What I am trying to determine is whether she was one of the alderman emissaries of the Communist government in Cuba, and you don't know that.

Dr. SOTO. Yes; they fooled us, as you know, very well. When they came from the Oriente hills, they claimed that they were very religious, that they were Catholic, because they knew that 90 percent of our population were religious people, so they claimed they were, and fooled every one of us as well as you.

Mr. SCHERER. As has been often said, of course, when Castro took over, then the Communists came out of the woodwork.

Dr. SOTO. I think you are right. I think that is true.

Mr. MOULDER. Go ahead, Mr. Nittle.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

Any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. We thank you very much, Doctor, for cooperating with the committee and giving us the valuable information which you have. We certainly appreciate your doing this, and also compliment you on your courage and forthrightness in appearing before this committee and testifying as you have.

Dr. SOTO. Thank you.

Mr. MOULDER. Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Jose G. Tremols.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. TREMOLS. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Be seated, Doctor.

TESTIMONY OF JOSE G. TREMOLS

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name, please?

Dr. TREMOLS. Jose G. Tremols—T-r-e-m-o-l-s.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born?

Dr. TREMOLS. Havana, Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain a resident of Cuba?

Dr. TREMOLS. Until December 15, 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. You came to the United States December 15, 1960?

Dr. TREMOLS. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. Why?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, that is obvious. Really, it wasn't worth living over there, the way things were going.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, we will develop that.

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your profession?

Dr. TREMOLS. Physician.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the extent of your educational training?

(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, I was graduated at Havana University. And I also practiced my profession in Havana as a private physician. I became a pediatrician and after having the training at this same school of medicine of the Havana University, with Professor Abaye in 1930 or 1931, and I was in that practice all the rest of my life.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you continuing the practice of medicine now that you are residing in the United States?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you associated with a hospital here?

Dr. TREMOLS. I am working with an HEW outpatient clinic.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you heard of a Dr. Martha Frayde during the course of your residence in Cuba?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know her personally?

Dr. TREMOLS. No.

Mr. NITTLE. What is the extent of your knowledge of Dr. Frayde?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, I only can say that formerly, she was working as a laboratorist.

Mr. SCHERER. As a what?

Dr. TREMOLS. Laboratorist, in laboratory, clinical laboratory.

Mr. SCHERER. Oh.

Dr. TREMOLS. Excuse me, my broken English.

And after Castro came in Havana, she became associated with the government, and she was nominated as a head, chief of the national hospital, Hospital Nacional, that was under construction—I think it began to be constructed under President Prio, and Batista went on, and it was finished during Castro's regime.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect the date when Castro entered Havana, Cuba, and assumed power in the government there?

Dr. TREMOLS. I think that I would recall it now, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date?

Dr. TREMOLS. First of January 1959.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, do you recollect the date when the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, it was in 1961, January or February 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. So that, during the time you remained in Cuba and up until December 15, 1960, while you remained there, normal diplomatic relations were in effect between the United States and Cuba?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. After Castro came into power in January 1959, was there any shortage of medical supplies during the time you remained in Cuba?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, not really as short at that time. I was connected with a private hospital. I was a shareholder of that institution, and in 1960, the last months of 1960, we were having really shortage, and we were not able to get the whole needs of our clinic, and at that time, there were many of these different firms still in Cuba, like Squibb, Parke Davis, Merck Sharp & Dohme, but they were not able to get the whole supply that was needed.

Even I remember that, for a time, we were unable to get our surgeon's gloves, for example, and we needed to be connected with one of our interns that was very well—had very good relations with the government, and he was the one that got the Czechoslovakian surgeon's gloves for us at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Now I think I understand you. You said in order to get surgeon's gloves—

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You had to go to one of your interns, who had connections with the Communist regime?

Dr. TREMOLS. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. And he was able to get you Czechoslovakian surgeon's gloves?

Dr. TREMOLS. That is it.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to inquire whether, to your knowledge, the apparently growing shortage in 1960 of medical supplies was due, in fact, to the policy of the Cuban Government to sever trade relations with the United States and to transfer its trade relations to the Iron Curtain countries and obtain supplies from them?

Dr. TREMOLS. It could be.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Nittle, will you speak a little louder?

Mr. NITTLE. We would like to know whether the explanation of the shortage of medical supplies in Cuba which began to appear in the latter part of 1960 was due, in fact, to the policies of the Castro government in cutting off trade relations with the United States by its own voluntary act in order to open trade communications with the Iron Curtain countries.

Dr. TREMOLS. It could be.

Mr. MOULDER. I didn't understand the answer.

Mr. WILLIS. He said it could be.

Dr. TREMOLS. It could be. I am not quite sure. That was the general idea of the Communists.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask a question at this point of the counsel?

What was the date of the entry of the previous doctor, Dr. Soto?

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Soto left Cuba in August 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. August 1960.

And, Doctor, what was the date of your entry?

Dr. TREMOLS. December 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. December 1960.

Now, let me ask you this question. There is an apparent conflict between your testimony and that of Dr. Soto.

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. And let's see if we can clarify it.

He testified just a moment ago—and you must have been listening to him—that when he left in August of 1960, there was not so much

a question of a shortage of medicines, but an effort to balloon that shortage on the part of the Castro regime to lay the blame on us. That we were not supplying—that we were not humanitarian.

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. You say that when you left in December of 1960, there was a shortage. Do you mean an actual shortage or a misdirection of the supply? Would you address yourself to that point?

Dr. TREMOLS. I agree with you that it could be a misdirection of the supplies.

Mr. WILLIS. I am not saying, I am asking.

Dr. TREMOLS. I agree with that. I am sure.

Mr. NITTLE. You mentioned that you had to approach an intern who was friendly to the Castro regime in order to obtain certain medical supplies, and when you did obtain the particular item desired—namely, surgeon's gloves—did I understand you correctly to say that—

Dr. TREMOLS. That was one of the items.

Mr. NITTLE. You found they were manufactured in Czechoslovakia?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this the first experience you had received in noting supplies, medical supplies, purchased from the Iron Curtain countries?

Dr. TREMOLS. That was the first time.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, I understood the witness to say that he used the surgeon's gloves as an example, and that that was only one of the items.

Dr. TREMOLS. That was one of the items.

Mr. MOULDER. I think that is clear. It has been very clear.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to that time, had you had occasion to use surgeon's gloves?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, I was not a surgeon. I work as a pediatrician, so I can't—

Mr. NITTLE. I meant to say by that, was this the first appearance of Iron Curtain medical supplies, to your observance, in 1960?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir; in 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to 1960, had you seen any medical supplies, used by you or by those with whom you were associated, that were manufactured in the Iron Curtain countries?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, prior to that time, we had a great stock in our clinic of American supplies, so we didn't have any shortage of our own in our private clinic.

Mr. SCHERER. What I am interested in, before we leave the subject, Doctor, is: Can you tell us what other items you had to get from this particular intern or other interns who were friendly to the Castro government, other than rubber gloves?

Dr. TREMOLS. Rubber gloves and injections, and tablets.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Injections and what? Tools?

Dr. TREMOLS. Tablets.

Mr. SCHERER. Tablets. I misunderstood you. But various medical supplies?

Dr. TREMOLS. Various medical supplies.

Mr. SCHERER. The only way you could get them was to get them from—

Dr. TREMOLS. Through that channel.

Mr. SCHERER. Through that channel.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this, Doctor.

From your own experience, if you have any on it—and you left there in 1960; conditions now may well be different—and the question is this: For the record, did you, before you left Havana in December of 1960, have any observation as to whether or not medical facilities, treatment, were uniformly applied or whether those who were avowed Castro friends would have better treatment and, if the conditions at that time were such that there was a difference between the two, or did they all become avowed, or even make-believe Communists?

Do you have any observations on that?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, as I was working in my particular field, and in that particular clinic only, I have not that point of view. I think that we were having same kind of treatment to everyone in our place, at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Dr. Martha Frayde publicly known as a Communist at the time you left Cuba in December of 1960?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes. So that was the general opinion of everyone there.

Mr. MOULDER. Any more questions?

Mr. BRUCE. I have questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Bruce.

Mr. BRUCE. On this point that you referred to just a moment ago, where you said in your particular work, there was no discrimination, as it were, as far as the use of medical supplies. Now, yours was a private clinic; am I correct?

Dr. TREMOLS. It was a private clinic; private hospital.

Mr. BRUCE. To your knowledge, are the private hospitals still operating, or are they all under the government now?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, after I left, I knew that every hospital, private or not, is in government control.

Mr. BRUCE. I see.

Dr. TREMOLS. They were socialized.

Mr. BRUCE. And at the time you were in Cuba, the government hospitals were definitely under the control of the Communist regime?

Dr. TREMOLS. Everything under the government regime; government care.

Mr. BRUCE. And since that time, the type of operation in which you were working, private clinic, has also been nationalized?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you very much.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask just one question?

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Willis.

Mr. WILLIS. Doctor, was any of your property, personal property, taken over by the Castro regime?

Dr. TREMOLS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Confiscated?

Dr. TREMOLS. It was.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you, for the record—We call that condemnation here and we value the property and pay for it—Were you paid for your property?

Dr. TREMOLS. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the nature of your property that was taken over?

Dr. TREMOLS. Well, it was my private office, and real estate, and my clinic.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. MOULDER. Doctor, you are excused as a witness, and we want to express our gratitude and appreciation for your appearance and cooperation with the committee in giving the testimony which you have.

Thank you very much.

The committee will stand in recess for a period of 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will come to order, please.

The Chair has a very important announcement to make.

After hearing the testimony of the two doctors—I am sure you will agree this is important—the committee has another witness who has arrived in the United States within the past several months. His family remains in Cuba, and for fear of retribution, reprisals against his family, and endangering their safety and life, he requests permission to appear before the committee in disguise with a mask.

The committee has decided to hear this witness under these conditions, and the terms as requested by him. He is a doctor that practiced in Cuba and is in a position to give the committee valuable information pertaining to the subject under investigation.

Would you be sworn as a witness?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. X. I do, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. All right. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF DR. X

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born?

Dr. X. In Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been a resident of Cuba until recently?

Dr. X. I abandoned my country within the last year.

Mr. NITTLE. You left your country within the last year.

Dr. X. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been in the United States since that time?

Dr. X. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What was your profession in Cuba?

Dr. X. Medical doctor.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you practiced your profession as such?

Dr. X. Roughly, 10 years.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dr. Martha Frayde in Cuba?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did she practice medicine?

Dr. X. Well, she used to practice medicine in Havana; then she is taking care as the director of the National Hospital in Havana.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know her personally?

Dr. X. No; I didn't meet her personally, but everybody knows her in Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Is Dr. Martha Frayde publicly known as a Communist in Cuba?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. How long has she been publicly known as such?

Dr. X. Well, I knew it after Castro took the government.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us what your experience has been in the conduct of your profession in Cuba since Castro came to power?

Dr. X. Would you like to particularize a little bit the question, sir?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Has there been any shortage of medical supplies in Cuba?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. To what cause do you attribute the shortage?

Dr. X. Almost all the supplies we had in Cuba was coming from the United States and some Europe-owned laboratories, and I think they can't afford to buy the amounts they used to have before. And, as a matter of fact, I don't think Russia is prepared to give all the medicines, not in quantity, but in quality, that we are used to, to work with.

Mr. NITTLE. Were American medical supplies being received in Cuba up until the time you left Cuba?

Dr. X. Yes, but there were very few. I mean, we didn't see too much in the last months.

Mr. NITTLE. Were the medical supplies identified as coming from the United States?

Dr. X. Yes. But there were some that were labeled from socialist countries, and the tablets had the name of the American labs.

Mr. SCHERER. Now I am sorry, Mr. Nittle. What was it? I didn't get that answer. Could the reporter read it?

Mr. NITTLE. Would you read that, please?

(The reporter read the answer as requested.)

Mr. MOULDER. Now, while we are interrupting the course of your testimony, I would like counsel to interrogate the witness to give an explanation as to why he appears in disguise on the witness stand.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, he has a family.

Mr. MOULDER. About his family, and the reasons for appearing in a mask before the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Why are you appearing in a mask here today?

Dr. X. Because I have relatives in Cuba, and I am afraid that they might be hurt on account of my declarations.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us what you know about the Hospital Nacional?

Dr. X. Well, the Hospital Nacional was built under Batista government, and then when Castro came, he finished some details, you know, construction details, little, and then he didn't open the hospital for 1 year after, presuming that the people would think that it was one of the Castro programs in health, you know.

And, as a matter of fact, all the equipment that this hospital has, which is very beautiful, is British equipment, and was bought before Castro came in.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask a question?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. To your personal knowledge, if you have any, were private hospitals taken over and operated by the Castro regime?

Dr. X. Yes, sir. Most all of them. I think today—I don't think there is any private hospital in Cuba. I don't know it, but as things were going, almost all the good clinics—we call "clinics" the private

hospitals over there—were taken by the government, from one reason and another, from one excuse and another.

One of the things they did is that the medical supplies they give them only a short amount, so they couldn't be able to work and make good medicine, because they didn't have enough supply to attend their patients. Almost all the supplies were kept by the government, through a council that they call the Consolidated of the Pharmacy, and they distributed to the government-owned hospitals.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, answer this if you care to, and don't, if you think it would be to your detriment.

Was any of your property taken over by the Castro regime?

Dr. X. Well, not my property. Every property of a doctor who goes out of Cuba and stays in the United States is taken by the Public Health Department. My office, my books, my house, and they got my car, too. They take all these things when anyone leaves.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you paid for the property they took over?

Dr. X. I beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. WILLIS. Did they pay you for the property they took over?

Dr. X. No, sir, and even if they paid me, what can I do with the money I would not be able to take with me.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, you were, of course, in Havana at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. April 17, 1961.

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us what your experience was at that time?

Dr. X. I want to tell you that the things I am telling you, I am 100 percent sure that are true. I am not going to make any statement that I don't know. The only two facts that I can tell you are these: All the drug stores were prohibited to sell first-aid materials, like gauze, antiseptics, and bandaids, and all that, during those days, because that it was the only way that they could control. If a man of the underground is wounded, he had no choice; he has to go to a hospital, because, you know, no other doctor would be able to cure him, you know, in a house, or something like that.

And during those days a doctor, a Communist doctor, was trying to indoctrinate a doctor I know, and the words that he said to him was actually this: "Now the Marines are going to come, and with their own bayonets are going to put it into the belly of the pregnant womans."

I don't give the name of the doctor, because of the security risks for myself.

That is the only thing I can tell you about the Bay of Pigs.

Mr. NITTLE. Is the Cuban Red Cross under government control?

Dr. X. A hundred percent, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Who is in charge of the Cuban branch of the Red Cross?

Dr. X. By the time I abandoned my country, was doctor who used to be in the hills with Raul Castro, by the time I abandoned. I don't know exactly now.

Mr. SCHERER. Doctor, do you remember the year they started to build this new National Hospital which you say was opened after Castro took over?

Dr. X. I don't remember exactly, because I was not in Havana by that time, but I think it was around 1½ or 2 years before Castro, back in 1956, or something like that. I am not quite sure of that, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. Doctor, would you consider from your experience the control of medical supplies by the Government of Cuba as a weapon of political warfare?

Dr. X. Would you like to explain a little bit the question?

Mr. BRUCE. Yes. To bring in line those who were not in sympathy with the Castro regime by withholding medical supplies, by the control, and what you already said, of forcing them to go to the hospitals instead of having private practice.

Dr. X. Well, sir, in Cuba, the private practice was very low when I got out of there, and, as a matter of fact, people who were belonging to private clinics, they had to go to the hospitals because that was the only way they could be able to have medicine.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, under the conditions at the time you left Cuba, any medical supplies coming in to a government hospital would be under the absolute control of the Communist government, would they not?

Dr. X. Sir, all the medical supplies that come to Cuba are under the government. All of them, because they have a Consolidated—they have an office called the Consolidated of the Pharmacy, that rules out all those things.

Mr. BRUCE. Then if a group, for instance, in the United States, were to send medical supplies to the National Hospital, they would be distributed and controlled by the Cuban Government?

Dr. X. Yes, and probably they were used only in the National Hospital. That is my personal opinion.

Mr. BRUCE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you performed surgery in the hospitals in Cuba?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. And you are a surgeon?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you relate the circumstances under which you performed your duties there?

Dr. X. Well, as a matter of fact, there was only one circumstance that I had to operate with a female militiawoman into the operation with a gun, because they were afraid that I might do any sabotage into an operation, which is one of the most—I don't know. I don't know how they can think that a surgeon can do sabotage in an operation, you know, but they think.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you saying that while performing an operation you were under the surveillance of someone in effect representing the government?

Dr. X. I was; in the operation room.

Mr. SCHERER. You used the word "militiawoman." Did you use that word?

Dr. X. "Militia" is called the army that Castro founded in the beginning.

Mr. SCHERER. And you said in performing the surgical operations?

Dr. X. I beg your pardon. Only once; once only, I had to operate

with a female guard with a gun into the operation room, which is against all the laws of, you know, antiseptics.

Mr. WILLIS. Against all the ethics of the profession?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have any knowledge as to how doctors are now trained in Cuba? Formerly many doctors have come to the United States for training. Where are they trained now?

Dr. X. They have now a plan to double up surgeons in 6 months. I mean they have a Junta doctor that puts them to work for 6 months with other doctors and after that they think they can undertake any kind of surgical operations. I cannot tell the name of the hospital for security reasons, but that's the information I got from Miami 2 or 3 months ago. It wasn't at the time I was in Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. You have found recently that American medicines have been misbranded and misrepresented as coming from Iron Curtain countries, is that correct?

Dr. X. Yes, sir, once we saw that.

Mr. MOULDER. Probably you should explain that a little. You mean that medicines were actually originating from other countries and were branded as having come from the United States?

Dr. X. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. The reverse.

Mr. MOULDER. That is what I didn't understand.

Dr. X. I think they bought in the common market medical supplies from the United States companies and then put it into cases as made in Czechoslovakia or made in Poland, and all that, but when you get the tablets you can see really that there were the names of Lederle and Sharp & Dohme and, you know, those classical laboratories we have here. That only happened once.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean you observed it only once?

Dr. X. I observed it myself once.

Mr. MOULDER. You don't know how many times it has happened.

Mr. NITTLE. Is treatment administered in Cuban hospitals upon a political basis to your knowledge?

Dr. X. At the time I was in Cuba, I didn't see anything about that, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the occasion for a female guard overseeing the performance of surgery? Did they attend all surgeons, or only surgeons that were not known to be members of the Communist Party?

Dr. X. Well, at that time in the operation room was every time one female guard, even with the sympathetic or without a sympathetic. They don't trust anyone, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Bruce.

Mr. BRUCE. I would suggest that testimony that is pertinent to our investigation on the subject matter has been pretty well covered by this witness and any further details that might lead into other areas, I would suggest might be taken, for the protection of the witness in executive hearing at a later time, but I think it might be well to briefly summarize here for the concurrence of the witness the testimony that has been given.

All medical facilities in Cuba at the time you left were rapidly, if not completely, being brought under government ownership and control?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. The medical supplies that were coming into Cuba were coming under direct government control?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. The medical supplies that were coming in from the United States were being in great extent packaged under the labels of other countries?

Dr. X. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Under the packaging of other countries?

Dr. X. No, it only happened once, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. But it did happen?

Dr. X. It did happen and I saw it.

Mr. BRUCE. That they were putting it under the label of other countries?

Dr. X. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. Socialist countries, in other words?

Dr. X. Yes, Czechoslovakia.

Mr. BRUCE. And any medical supplies, to your knowledge, that would be coming in under the existing regime from the United States today would be going into the hands of the government itself for distribution and control?

Dr. X. Oh, sure, completely sure of that.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you very much.

Dr. X. You are welcome.

Mr. MOULDER. I have this one question. Do you have any knowledge or information concerning any medical supplies coming from the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Dr. X. No, sir; just as I read in the paper. That's the first information I had.

Mr. MOULDER. So far as you know as a doctor, you never saw or received or had use of such medical supplies?

Dr. X. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know of any doctor who did receive or had use of such medical supplies?

Dr. X. No, not at the moment, sir. I could search for that.

Mr. MOULDER. The point I am trying to make is that all such medical supplies received from the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee probably went to this hospital and the government used it for its own political purposes.

Dr. X. Well, you see, they had a good hospital and it is without medicines, a bad thing, but if they have medicines in the best hospital that would give them a political support in the order of the program of health and all that.

Mr. MOULDER. Of the Communist regime?

Dr. X. Oh, sure, positive.

Mr. MOULDER. Any further questions?

Mr. WILLIS. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. You are excused for the present time as a witness. We certainly thank you for your testimony and appearance before the committee.

Dr. X. Okay.

Mr. MOULDER. Doctor, thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MOULDER. Call the next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Leo Huberman.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEO HUBERMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, EPHRAIM LONDON

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mr. HUBERMAN. My name is Leo Huberman. I live at 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N.Y.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. LONDON. My name is Ephraim London. Address is 1 East 44th St., New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state the date and place of your birth, Mr. Huberman?

Mr. HUBERMAN. October 17, 1903, Newark, N.J.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I went to schools in Newark, graduate of the Newark State Normal School and a graduate of New York University, where I hold a bachelor's and master's degree, spent a year of study at the London School of Economics, taught in grade school and college.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that you are the provisional chairman of an organization known as the Friends of British Guiana. Are you presently serving as the chairman of the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I shall have to refuse to answer that question. I am invoking the fifth amendment, but I wish to make clear that I am doing so only with respect to a limited subject, because of the existence of certain statutes appearing to make criminal, activity that is completely innocent, performed publicly and openly.

I may add that I have not been guilty of conduct of which I feel, or have any reason to feel, ashamed or guilty.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of an item which appeared in the *Monthly Review*, the May 1962 issue, described as an advertisement, bearing the title "For lack of a shoe the war was lost. Will British Guiana's Independence Be Delayed For Want of a Daily Paper?"

The advertisement bears the name "Leo Huberman, Provisional Chairman, Friends of British Guiana. Please make checks payable to Marcia Rabinowitz, Treasurer, Box 544, Cooper Station, New York 3."

Are you the Leo Huberman whose name appears as the provisional chairman of the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 1" follows.)

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT NO. 1
[Monthly Review, May 1962]

"For lack of a shur the war was lost

Will British Guiana's Independence Be Delayed For Want of a Daily Paper?

British Guiana's three daily papers are bitterly hostile to the Jagan regime. So is the single radio station. Dr. Jagan's elected government relies upon one crudely printed, totally inadequate weekly paper to explain its position to the people, and thus the new budget, designed to develop a home industry and to raise the standard of living, was actually made to appear a step backward by the anti-independence reactionary opposition.

A political movement or government without the means to convey its program to the broadest masses of the people operates under a severe handicap. Friends of British Guiana in this country have accordingly determined to provide Dr. Jagan's movement, the People's Progressive Party, with a linotype machine, photoengraving equipment, and other essential printing machinery to enable it to meet its important political obligations.

We invite MR readers to join in making a democratic daily newspaper possible for these embattled friends of democracy. Only a few thousand dollars are needed, part of which has already been raised. A committee has been formed to give the campaign a final push. Help if you can.

LEO HUBERMAN, Provisional Chairman,
Friends of British Guiana

Please make checks payable to MARCIA RABINOWITZ,
Treasurer, Box 544, Cooper Station, New York 3

(advertisement)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, that advertisement appears in a magazine which I have named as the *Monthly Review*. You are in fact the Leo Huberman who is the editor of that magazine, are you not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. You are a coeditor of the *Monthly Review* together with a Paul M. Sweezy?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. On the cover of that magazine I believe you have caused a statement to be published, "An Independent Socialist Magazine." Is that correct?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, I believe the expression "socialist" has been variously used. Soviet commentators have used it as synonymous with "Communist." On the other hand, Norman Thomas describes himself as a Socialist. I don't suppose that you wish to elaborate upon the meaning which you impute to the word "socialist" in describing the character of your magazine, do you?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have been a teacher, writer, and editor all of my mature life. What I believe is contained in my books and articles; what I have done, stems from those beliefs. I have openly proclaimed myself against the existing economic order. The books and articles I have written, the speeches I have made, leave no room for doubt on that score. Our magazine, as you have stated, carries on its masthead "An Independent Socialist Magazine." That is what I am, an independent Socialist, and the definition is our own. You could get from a reading of our magazine—I think the committee is a subscriber, I am not certain—you could get from a reading of our magazine exactly what we mean by socialist.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask if you are registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I shall refuse to answer that question for the same reason I gave before.

Mr. WILLIS. May I make a statement?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I should say to you, sir, that we are not charging that any particular organization not presently registered should be registered. One of the objectives of these hearings is to look into the act, its wording, and to consider whether it should be expanded, modified, and amended. That is the purpose of these hearings. I think that should be put in context at this point.

I am not asking a question. I made that statement for the record.

Mr. NITTLE. You have told us that the magazine is a socialist magazine. Is it something more than a socialist magazine?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't know how I could answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it this way. Do you recall testifying before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations on July 14, 1953?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. At that time Senator Mundt put the question to you: "You are a Marxist and a Socialist?" To which the record indicates you replied: "That is right."

You further testified: "Yes; I am a Marxist and a Socialist."

Mr. HUBERMAN. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe yourself as a Marxist-Leninist?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Out of my own personal curiosity, I would like to—I am sorry, you may confer with your counsel.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I would like to, in reply to that question, answer as I did before that committee. "Yes; I am a Marxist and a Socialist, and like millions of other non-Communists throughout the world, I believe in working, together with others, including Communists, to the extent that their aims and methods coincide with mine."

Mr. MOULDER. That, I think, answers my question I was about to ask you, if you were a member of the Communist Party or if you are a Communist.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. And you are not a Communist?

Mr. HUBERMAN. And I am not a Communist.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Never. I have never been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you agree with all the Communist philosophy and aims of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I certainly do not agree with all of the aims and philosophy. I am an independent Marxist-Socialist.

Mr. MOULDER. And for reasons that you state, you are not compelled to register then as a Communist in this country; is that it?

Mr. WILLIS. He didn't answer that question. He invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment on that particular question.

Mr. MOULDER. Not this—

Mr. WILLIS (interrupting). Yes. I may have misunderstood the context. I thought you had been asked—

Mr. MOULDER (continuing). On the Foreign Registration Act.

Mr. WILLIS. I am sorry.

Mr. MOULDER. My point is that there are people in this country who are Communists who have escaped the provisions of the law requiring registration by stating that they are not an active member of the Communist Party, but are actually Communists.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Yesterday, Mr. Huberman, the committee interrogated Mrs. Melitta del Villar, who appeared as chairman of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. It was then pointed out that the March 1962 issue of your magazine editorialized upon the formation of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee. (See del Villar Exhibit No. 4, pp. 1871, 1872.) I asked Mrs. del Villar whether she had solicited the *Monthly Review* to call attention to this fact. Perhaps you will tell us the circumstances under which that article appeared in your magazine.

Mr. HUBERMAN. It wasn't an article, was it, sir?

Mr. NITTLE. Editorial, I would say.

Mr. HUBERMAN. You mean notes from the editors?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HUBERMAN. Well, we get across our desk a number of press releases about various committees, organizations, funds, whatever, and from time to time when we have room and agree with the purposes of whatever the committee or whatever it is, we might write a little note about it. I think that's probably what happened in this instance.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Mrs. del Villar?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known her?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I can't remember exactly. A couple of years, I would say.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a member of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you require any compensation from the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee for the editorial note relating to that organization?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. We do not receive compensation for any of what you are calling editorial notes at any time.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, was your interest in publishing that editorial note on the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee related to your purpose as a Socialist to solidify the Communist rule of Castro in Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. My motives in running that little note were purely humanitarian, in line with the aims of the committee as I understand it.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it published in line with the aims of the committee?

Mr. HUBERMAN. The committee, as I understand it, was a committee designed to send medicine to Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. You have just read to us from your own testimony before the Senate subcommittee in which you confirmed your willingness to associate yourself with Communists to the extent that their aims and methods coincided with your own. Did you know Sidney J. Gluck of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I may have known him. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know him or don't you know him?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I can't be sure. I think I may have met him somehow.

Mr. NITTLE. You may have met him sometime?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Sidney J. Gluck to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I do not.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever known him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have not.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know him to be a person who is a follower and promoter of the Communist cause in this country?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have no way of knowing that.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dr. Louis Miller, the medical director of the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have met him.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Dr. Louis Miller?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't know, maybe a year or so.

Mr. NITTLE. Might it have been longer than a year?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't think so. It may have been but I don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE. I call your attention to the fact that the May 22, 1961, issue of the *National Guardian* carried a calendar of events on page 11, setting forth that the Monthly Review Associates of 333 Sixth Ave., New York City, extended a general invitation to hear "The Truth About Cuba, An Eyewitness Report by Leo Huberman who was on the scene when the invasion occurred," and announcing that one of the guests was Melitta del Villar. (See del Villar Exhibit No. 4-A, p. 1875.) Did you speak on that occasion?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. In extending assistance to the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee you have described your interest as purely humanitarian, because it is the ostensible purpose of that committee to supply medical assistance to Cuba; is that right?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think so.

Mr. NITTLE. With respect to your appearance in Cuba and having participated as an eyewitness to the invasion, which occurred, I believe, in April 1961, what were your motives then?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am coeditor of a magazine, my motive was to see what was going to happen in Cuba. I was also enroute to a lecture engagement in Jamaica, and on the way to Jamaica I was stopping off in Cuba for the purpose of seeing again the Cuban scene and reporting on it.

Mr. NITTLE. What was your motive, on the other hand, in having your publisher, Monthly Review Associates, extend invitations to the public to hear your story about the invasion?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I wanted as many people as I could reach to hear what I had to say about Cuba.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your action in that respect for the purpose of conducting political propaganda favorable to the advancement and solidification of the Communist regime in Cuba?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. You say it was not?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it your purpose to speak on that occasion for the purpose of assisting in the destruction of the Cuban Communist regime?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Certainly not. My purpose was to report what I had observed as a journalist, as I stated before.

Mr. NITTLE. I again refer to Huberman Exhibit No. 1, the advertisement in your magazine, *Monthly Review*, which carries a request for funds for the purpose of obtaining printing machinery for Cheddi Jagan's government in British Guiana. The exhibit is described in your magazine as an advertisement. Was it an advertisement?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, it was.

Mr. NITTLE. Who paid for the advertisement, if anyone?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I shall refuse to answer that question on the same ground as I did before.

Mr. NITTLE. Beg pardon?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I shall refuse to answer that question on the same ground I stated before.

Mr. NITTLE. On what grounds?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Grounds of the fifth amendment and whatever else went with it.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the owner of Monthly Review Associates, the publisher of *Monthly Review*, which lists you as the editor?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Monthly Review is a corporation of which I am a stockholder.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the sole stockholder?

Mr. HUBERMAN. No. There are three stockholders.

Mr. NITTLE. Who are the stockholders?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. The other two are the coeditor, Paul Sweezy, and Sybil H. May.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Monthly Review Associates participate in the direction and control of the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. The Monthly Review Associates has nothing to do with any other organization other than *Monthly Review*.

Mr. NITTLE. The advertisement which appears in your magazine asks that checks be made payable to Marcia Rabinowitz, Treasurer, Box 544, Cooper Station, New York 3. I assume that you know Marcia Rabinowitz. Is Marcia Rabinowitz the treasurer of the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I shall refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Marcia Rabinowitz?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known her?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I really don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know her husband, Victor Rabinowitz?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Victor Rabinowitz?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Oh, maybe over 20 years.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, since it is almost 12 o'clock I suggest that the committee recess until 1:30 or 2 p.m., at your discretion, and continue the interrogation at that time.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30 and the witness will be recalled at that time.

(Committee members present at time of recess: Representatives Moulder, Willis, Scherer, and Bruce.)

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Thursday, November 15, 1962, the hearings were recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1962

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:30 p.m., with Hon. Edwin E. Willis presiding.)

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis and Gordon H. Scherer.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Counsel, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF LEO HUBERMAN—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, would you kindly tell the committee when the organization, Friends of British Guiana, was formed and for what purpose was it formed?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am invoking the fifth amendment, but I wish to make clear that I am doing so only with respect to a limited subject because of the existence of certain statutes appearing to make criminal, activity that is completely innocent, performed publicly and openly.

I may add that I have not been guilty of conduct of which I feel——

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say this.

We very much respect anyone's right and we cherish the right to the invocation of the fifth amendment, but now you come here and you talk about statutes making something appear criminal.

A criminal statute is within the very Constitution that you invoke. It doesn't make anything appear. That is it. That is the law. Unless you explain that, I do not see much sense in your opening statement.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

(At this point Mr. Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed with your next question.

Mr. HUBERMAN. May I answer that, Congressman Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. It is not a question. It is a statement. I think we should proceed. The foundation you are seeking to make is without substance, and I suggest that counsel proceed with the next question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think that the committee itself has made it clear that the statute is quite vague.

Mr. WILLIS. You did not even talk about the statute you are talking about. You were asked a question and you invoked the fifth amendment. That is based on the Constitution. The Constitution itself is quite clear, that to invoke it you must fear that it might subject you to criminal prosecution.

I am not stopping you from an answer, but you invoked the statute and then, in connection with that statute, you talk about a criminal law that makes something appear not lawful and you do not even admit that statute itself is constitutional. That does not impress me, but if you want to devote 2 minutes to your subject it is all right with me.

Chairman Moulder is present now.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. You understand I did not deny you the right to the statement.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of page 4 of the *National Guardian* of April 23, 1962, and direct your attention to an item designated "Advertisement" and on which appears your name, Leo Huberman, provisional chairman, Friends of British Guiana. The item states in part:

In a recent Guardian interview Janet Jagan, wife of the Prime Minister of British Guiana, declared that one of the chief reasons for the February riots in Georgetown was the government's lack of a daily paper to explain its new budget to the people.

* * * * *

Friends of British Guiana in this country have accordingly determined to provide Dr. Jagan's movement, the People's Progressive Party, with a linotype machine, photoengraving equipment, and other essential printing machinery to enable it to meet its important political obligations.

* * * * *

We invite all Guardian readers to join in making a democratic daily newspaper possible for these embattled friends of democracy. Only a few thousand dollars are needed, part of which has already been raised. A committee has been formed to give the campaign a final push. Help if you can.

Then your name appears as provisional chairman and below that the statement:

Please make checks payable to Marcia G. Rabinowitz, Treasurer, Box 544, Cooper Station, New York 3.

Was this organization formed for the purpose set forth in this advertisement?

Mr. HUBERMAN. You asked before, earlier, if that was my name on the ad, and I refused to answer the question and I refuse again on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT NO. 2
[National Guardian, April 23, 1962, p. 4]
ADVERTISEMENT

"For lack of a shoe . . . the war was lost . . ."

Will British Guiana's Independence Be Delayed For Want of a Daily Paper?

IN A RECENT Guardian interview Janet Jagan, wife of the Prime Minister of British Guiana, declared that one of the chief reasons for the February riots in Georgetown was the government's lack of a daily paper to explain its new budget to the people. British Guiana's three daily papers are bitterly hostile to the Jagan regime. So is the single radio station. Dr. Jagan's elected government relies upon one crudely printed, totally inadequate weekly paper to explain its position to the people, and thus the new budget, designed to develop a home industry and to raise the standard of living, was actually made to appear a step backward by the anti-independence, reactionary opposition.

A political movement or government without the means to convey its program to the broadest masses of the people operates under a severe handicap. Such a handicap is especially critical for a government whose goals are democratic socialism and independence from colonial ties. Though the population of British Guiana is small, barely 600,000, its peaceful progress toward these goals is vital to the freedom and independence of all South America. Not "for want of a nail" should the Guianese battle against poverty and foreign domination be lost.

Friends of British Guiana in this country have accordingly determined to provide Dr. Jagan's movement, the People's Progressive Party, with a linotype machine, photograving equipment, and other essential printing machinery to enable it to meet its important political obligations.

Guardian readers and the citizens of Guiana have special ties. The Guardian Library, founded in 1955 with thousands of books sent by readers in response to Mrs. Jagan's appeal, is flourishing in Freedom House, PPP headquarters. Readers will remember too that Prime Minister Jagan was guest of honor at the 1960 Guardian banquet in New York.

We invite all Guardian readers to join in making a democratic daily newspaper possible for these embattled friends of democracy. Only a few thousand dollars are needed, part of which has already been raised. A committee has been formed to give the campaign a final push. Help if you can.

LEO HUBERMAN, Provisional Chairman,
Friends of British Guiana

Please make checks payable to MARCIA G. RABINOWITZ,
Treasurer, Box 544 Cooper Station, New York 3

Mr. WILLIS. Let me see that ad.

Mr. NITTLE. May I have that?

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us the exact date when this organization was formed?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. One of the earliest indications of the alleged requirements of Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party for acquisition of printing equipment appeared in the February 26, 1962 issue of the *National Guardian* at page 3 in an article entitled, "The Facts Behind the Colony's Turmoil. Guiana Rightist riots no surprise to Jagan."

I hand you a copy of that article. The article appears, as you will note, under the byline of Victor Rabinowitz, whom I believe you have already identified as the husband of Marcia Rabinowitz, who is named as the treasurer of the Friends of British Guiana.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't think, sir, that I identified him. You asked me if I knew him, and I said I did.

Mr. NITTLE. I am sorry.

Let me ask you now. Do you know Marcia Rabinowitz to be the wife of Victor Rabinowitz?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Your answer was yes, I believe.

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, it was.

Mr. NITTLE. The *National Guardian* states that Victor Rabinowitz:

The author of this article is a prominent New York attorney who has closely followed events in Latin America for several years. He returned after a stay of several days in British Guiana just before the general strike.

In the article Mr. Rabinowitz states in part:

Two things are urgently required if the government—

referring, of course, to the Government of British Guiana—

is to carry out its program successfully: (1) a daily newspaper capable of countering the opposition's propaganda machine, and (2) a body of trained political leaders to explain the program to the people being misled by the government's enemies.

Now, did you have occasion to discuss with Victor Rabinowitz the urgent requirements to which he refers in this article?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 3" appears on pp. 2014-2016.)

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT No. 3
[National Guardian, Feb. 26, 1962, p. 3]

THE FACTS BEHIND THE COLONY'S TURMOIL

Guiana Rightist riots no surprise to Jagan

By Victor Rabinowitz

"We are facing the issue of whether it is possible for a nation to adopt a socialist form of government through peaceful and democratic methods. There are those who say that this is impossible—that the capitalists—the millionaires—will use force to overthrow any government which seeks to adopt socialism by parliamentary means. We will now see whether that is so."

THUS SPOKE Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Prime Minister of British Guiana, in a radio broadcast in Georgetown Feb. 6. His speech was designed to explain to the people of British Guiana the meaning and purpose of the budget his government had just introduced.

His words were prophetic. Even as he spoke, the right-wing United Force Party was whipping the people of Georgetown into a frenzy. Led by Peter D'Aguiar, a millionaire brewery owner who also owns the principal newspaper in the country, crowds roamed the streets with placards attacking the government and the budget it had introduced a few days earlier. A general strike was called for Feb. 12 and for several days that followed, the capital city was paralyzed.

Dr. Jagan's People's Progressive Party had won the election of August, 1961, on

Force Party, led by D'Aguiar, which had won only four seats in the Legislative Council.

THE PROGRAM: The PPP's strength lay almost entirely in the rural areas; the rice farmers and sugar farmers who make up the bulk of British Guiana's rural population had supported the PPP for many years and rallied behind the party last August to elect a majority of the Legislative Council.

Immediately after the election the PPP proceeded to put its legislative platform into effect. It made an immediate demand for independence and a conference later was scheduled for May in London. It also proposed a budget designed to raise sufficiently large sums to implement Dr. Jagan's ambitious development and industrial program.

It was the budget which was the immediate cause of the current disturbances. It proposed (1) a thorough-going revision of the tax structure of the country and (2) several new taxes designed not only to raise revenue, but to encourage the consumption of Guiana-made products by taxing imports. A capital gains tax of 45% was imposed using 1956 values as a base. A gift tax equal in rate to the existing estate tax was imposed. Income taxes were increased. A net worth tax on amounts in excess of \$50,000 was imposed. Excise taxes were increased on rum, beer, canned goods, high-priced textiles, gasoline and many other items.

The author of this article is a prominent New York attorney who has closely followed events in Latin America for several years. He returned after a stay of several days in British Guiana just before the general strike.

a platform calling for immediate independence and the establishment of a socialist government. His opposition was split between the People's National Congress, whose support came principally from Georgetown and New Amsterdam, the second largest city, and the United

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT No. 3—(Continued)

The budgeteer

LOST IN THE frantic attempt by the Western press to label Guianan Prime Minister Jagan's budget as communistic was the fact that the budget was recommended by economist Nicolas Kaldor, a fellow of Kings College, Cambridge. Kaldor had previously drawn up tax and revenue plans for India, Ceylon, Mexico and Ghana. His recommendations have shocked some people, he said, "not because what I suggested is radical. But in these countries people are not used to paying taxes on their true income. My systems force them to disclose their true holdings and earnings."

The government also proposed a compulsory savings plan, providing for a 5% deduction on all income in excess of \$1,200 a year for which seven-year bonds, paying 3¾% interest, would be issued. Wage levels in British Guiana are so low that not more than half of the population would have been affected. But this fact was obscured in the excitement that followed.

A FASCIST PATTERN: D'Aguiar, whose prestige had suffered from his defeat in the election, saw the budget as an opportunity to re-establish his leadership. Strongly backed by the press and an expertly managed publicity campaign, he launched an attack on the budget during the week of Feb. 5. The techniques followed a familiar fascist pattern. His impassioned oratory rang with vilification not only of Dr. Jagan, but of his wife Janet and his secretary, Jack Keshall. International communism and the Cuban government came in for their share.

Most of the business community joined in the attack. Prices of almost all commodities were sharply increased on the excuse that they were now subject to new taxes, although the budget had not yet been adopted and had not even been discussed in the Legislative Council. Large newspaper advertisements announcing the increase in prices helped to inflame the local population.

An incidental feature was the fact that

this agitation coincided with the visit to British Guiana of the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, which provided the occasion for large groups to assemble.

A TROUBLED CITY: The general strike started on Feb. 12. It gathered momen-



DR. CHEDDI JAGAN
He expected trouble

tum in the following two days so that by Feb. 14 public transportation came to a halt. All stores were closed and electric and water service were only sporadic. Most of the nurses in the hospital quit and the schools were closed, releasing thousands of children to roam the troubled streets.

By the night of Feb. 15 the mobs were burning and looting property in Georgetown and were completely out of control. The government requested the aid of British troops, which were promptly flown in from Jamaica. By Feb. 16, order had been restored but only after millions of dollars of property had been destroyed. The strike was called off Feb. 18.

RIOTS FEARED: The inability of the Jagan government to cope with the general strike was the result of several factors. Most important was that his sup-

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT No. 3—(Continued)



Drawing by Reid

porters were not brought in from the countryside—both because transportation of large numbers of persons is difficult in Guiana, and because it was feared that the introduction into Georgetown of many East Indian farmers would result in serious communal riots with the already inflamed Georgetown crowds, most of whom were Negro.

Within Georgetown itself, every daily newspaper carried on an unceasing campaign against the government and the budget, and the PPP had no funds with which to make effective response. The merchants, for the most part, are anti-government, and while they had agreed to keep their shops open, word was passed on that if their employees wanted to take time off they would be paid. In fact, most of the stores closed down their doors a few hours after the strike began.

A ROUGH FUTURE: The British government, in sending troops, made it clear

that it was not expressing any opinion on the merits of the political dispute, but was interested primarily in preserving law and order.

The Jagan government has refused to resign, pointing out that it was elected in a fair ballot. It said it intended to carry out its program.

There is no doubt that the future will be difficult for the PPP. Its supporters are among the most impoverished groups in the country. The fact that they are scattered in plantations along the coast makes it difficult to rally and organize them.

Two things are urgently required if the government is to carry out its program successfully: (1) a daily newspaper capable of countering the opposition's propaganda machine, and (2) a body of trained political leaders to explain the program to the people being misled by the government's enemies.

Mr. NITTLE. Following the appearance of the above February 26, 1962, article by Victor Rabinowitz, there appeared in the *National Guardian* on April 2, 1962, an article under the byline of Joanne Grant, titled, "Janet Jagan's story of Guiana riots." I believe you have a copy of that article before you.

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, we don't.

Mr. NITTLE. I will hand you a copy at this point. You will note that Janet Jagan is quoted as saying:

"One of our biggest tasks right now," she said, "is to establish a voice for the party to combat the propaganda of the daily commercial press." The PPP [People's Progressive Party] plans to establish a daily newspaper soon, but, she said, "we need money. We are selling shares in a publishing company to establish a progressive daily. Shares range from \$5 to \$25 British Guiana (\$1.70 BG equals \$1 U.S.)."

(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. This statement, the *National Guardian* relates, was obtained from Mrs. Jagan in a recent interview with the *Guardian* while Mrs. Jagan was in New York to talk with African and Asian delegates in the United Nations.

Did you have occasion to talk to Janet Jagan during her appearance in New York to which reference is made?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't recall whether the period is the same, but we did meet with Janet Jagan and I asked her for an article on what happened in British Guiana and she submitted that article to the magazine and we printed it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you inform her that you were contemplating organizing a group known as the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse again on the same ground.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 4" appears on pp. 2018, 2019.)

April 2, 1963

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

5

PREMIER'S WIFE TELLS HOW THE RIGHTISTS STIRRED DISORDERS

Janet Jagan's story of Guiana riots

By Joanne Grant

JANET JAGAN, wife of Cheddi B. Jagan, Premier of British Guiana, said in a recent interview with the GUARDIAN that an "uneasy calm exists" in Guiana following last month's "general strike" and riots.

Mrs. Jagan was in New York to talk with African and Asian delegates to the United Nations in an effort to gain support for British Guiana's demand for independence from Britain. The British have scheduled independence talks for May in London. Mrs. Jagan, who is general secretary of British Guiana's ruling party, the People's Progressive Party, said: "We want independence this year." One of the opposition parties, the United Force, led by Peter D'Aguilar, Portuguese industrialist, is campaigning against independence under a slogan, "Better 1,000 years under the British than independence under Jagan." The other opposition party, the People's National Congress, led by Forbes Burnham, also is expected to oppose independence. Mrs. Jagan commented: "It is difficult to say where Burnham will stand; he shifts his position. At the moment he wants a government elected by proportional representation. He may come all-out against independence."

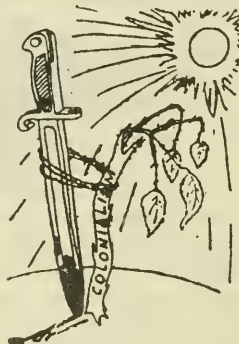
OVATION IN CANADA: Mrs. Jagan was in New York March 15-19 on her way home to Georgetown from Canada. She had received a standing ovation from 2,200 at a Canadian Peace Council rally where she spoke along with Dr. Willard Uphaus and the GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal.

Mrs. Jagan held semi-official talks on Canadian aid for British Guiana, and was welcomed in the Canadian Parliament. "I sat in the Speaker's Gallery with the Speaker's wife, and when a member called attention to my presence I received a desk-thumping welcome. My talks with Canadian officials were cordial. We are already receiving a small amount of aid from Canada."

Mrs. Jagan is not a member of the present Guiana government. In the short-lived regime headed by her husband in 1953 before he was deposed by the British, Mrs. Jagan was deputy speaker of the House of Assembly. In the Jagan government of 1957 to 1961 Mrs. Jagan was Minister of Labor, Health and Housing. At present she is devoting full time

to her duties as general secretary of the PPP.

PAPER PLANNED: "One of our biggest tasks right now," she said, "is to establish a voice for the party to combat the propaganda of the daily commercial



press." The PPP plans to establish a daily newspaper soon, but, she said, "we need money. We are selling shares in a publishing company to establish a progressive daily. Shares range from \$5 to \$25 British Guiana (\$1.70 BG equals \$1 U.S.)."

Mrs. Jagan said the three dailies in Georgetown inflamed the population during the riots last month. She cited an article in the Daily Chronicle, owned by D'Aguilar, which said a Cuban ship in the harbor was bringing arms for the PPP. The ship had come to pick up rice, Mrs. Jagan said.

"The government had the ship officially searched when it docked," she said, "but the Chronicle ignored that story."

Chronicle headlines screamed one day that the British Admiralty had announced that three of its warships were cruising the Caribbean looking for Cuban gun-runners. The British Admiralty issued a denial, but the Chronicle did not publish it.

"A Progressive Party daily would also be helpful in combating malicious rumors circulated against the PPP," Mrs. Jagan said. "One such rumor was that I had killed a policeman."

FOES UNSCRUPULOUS: The forces opposing the PPP are completely unscrupulous, Mrs. Jagan said. "Imagine trade union leaders telling the workers that if the Government taxed big business, big

HUBERMAN EXHIBIT No. 4—(Continued)

business would pass the tax on to the workers and therefore tax provisions of the Government's new budget should be opposed."

She said the riots were instigated in an effort to topple the government. "Attacks broke out all over the city at the same time," she said. "It was a well-organized effort."

The civil service strikers demanded a salary increase and opposed the government's plan to abolish a six-month leave with pay and passage to England granted civil servants for each three years of service. Merchants closed businesses and promised workers they would be paid during the strike. They also threatened those who did not strike with loss of jobs. A Canadian Member of Parliament, Erhart Regier, who was in Georgetown during the rioting said that "industries inspired their workers to strike."

"We were able to maintain essential services," Mrs. Jagan said. "The hospital was manned by volunteers. Electricity and much of the water service was maintained. But water pressure was low, so it was difficult to fight the fires which spread in the downtown area and destroyed 90 businesses in 43 buildings."

The strike had been called by the head of the Trades Union Council, Richard Ishmael, a sugar workers union leader who has little support in his own union. The bulk of his union's membership is in the countryside, and did not strike. The strike and disorders were confined to Georgetown.

JOBLESS IN CITY: An important factor was high unemployment among urban workers. Guiana joblessness exceeds 18%, affecting city workers more than agricultural workers. The Georgetown population is mainly of African descent, while the agricultural population is of East Indian descent. Mrs. Jagan said most of Burnham's followers are Negroes, but she pointed out that the PPP chairman is a Negro, and said the government's ethnic composition reflects that of the population. The President of the Senate, who is appointed, is a Negro; of 10 cabinet members, four are Negro, five are Indian and one is of mixed (Negro and Indian) parentage; of the 20 legislators, seven are Negro, 11 are Indian, one is Portuguese and one is mixed. A majority of Guiana's 600,000 people are Indians.

"The forces of D'Aguiar, his newspaper, and a good deal of money" stirred up the city population and D'Aguiar led



Guardian photo by Robert Joyce
JANET JAGAN

Interviewed by the GUARDIAN

an attack on the electric company. Mrs. Jagan said. "When the budget was altered to meet criticism two days before the rioting began, the slogans and themes of the strike changed. Then the attack was aimed at the Premier, at me and at other PPP leaders."

'CRUSADE' MONEY: Dr. Joost Sluis of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and a number of Americans were "moving mysteriously about Georgetown," she said. (The Crusade's head, Dr. Fred Schwarz, admitted that \$30,000 was spent to oppose Jagan in the August election). The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the AFL-CIO backed international, sent a plane-load of food "to aid the strikers."

Mrs. Jagan cited the government statement after calm was restored as a precise summary of events: "All in all, the picture is one of an almost perfect example of a counterrevolution in which vested interests and conservative elements used the middle-class elements and the dissatisfaction of some of the workers to attempt to overthrow a constitutionally elected government by violence. Having failed to defeat the PPP at the last three consecutive elections, and seeing little prospect of winning future elections, the reactionaries are now abandoning constitutional methods and resorting to intimidation and force to overthrow the government."

Mr. NITTLE. I refer to Huberman Exhibit No. 2, the April 23, 1962, *National Guardian* advertisement in which the Friends of British Guiana request funds to provide Dr. Jagan's movement with printing equipment.

That is the item from which I read a while ago. The article indicates that only a few thousand dollars were needed, part of which had already been raised.

As to the funds which have been raised, admittedly, in that article, will you tell us to whom they were transmitted?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer, again on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. How much money was raised during the course of your activity in the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Does Victor Rabinowitz exercise any direction or control over the activities of the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. The advertisement indicates that your organization merely has a post office box. I would like to inquire whether the organization maintains an office.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee's investigation reveals that this particular postal box, No. 544, referred to in the advertisement, was obtained by Michael Crenovich on March 22, 1962.

Was this organization formed on or about March 22, 1962?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Michael Crenovich?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Michael Crenovich?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Maybe 7 or 8 months. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. NITTLE. Might it have been longer?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I would doubt it.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know him as a Communist agent?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, I don't.

Mr. NITTLE. In what capacity do you know him?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Has the name Michael Crenovich appeared at any time publicly in connection with the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. To the committee's knowledge, so far as public announcements are concerned, or otherwise, there appear to be only three persons connected with the Friends of British Guiana, yourself, Marcia Rabinowitz, and Michael Crenovich, that is, as members of the Friends of British Guiana.

Are there any other persons connected with this organization—

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer—

Mr. NITTLE. — as officers or members?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. Are the activities of your organization directed by any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

I might add that I have testified that I am not now, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party, so I don't know that I could state that I knew any person who was a Communist except—

Mr. WILLIS. On that score, Counsel, may I ask a couple of questions?

Mr. NITTLE. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIS. If you stated it before, I honestly forgot your connection, if any, with the *National Guardian*.

Mr. HUBERMAN. You never asked me.

Mr. WILLIS. I am now asking.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have none.

Mr. WILLIS. As I recall, quite earlier in your testimony you invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment when you were asked—what is the name of your publication, that monthly?

Mr. HUBERMAN. *Monthly Review*.

Mr. WILLIS. —if it had registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Is that correct?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. That question wasn't asked us I don't think.

Mr. WILLIS. I thought it was the earliest invocation.

Mr. HUBERMAN. Not the *Monthly Review*.

Mr. WILLIS. What was it? Was it the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. *Monthly Review* is a magazine that has not registered.

Mr. WILLIS. That is not registered?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Certainly not.

Mr. WILLIS. Just for information—

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. —as to which organization did you invoke the fifth amendment in response to the question as to whether that organization had been registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That was the Friends of British Guiana.

Mr. WILLIS. The Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you a member of that committee?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you make a visit to British Guiana last year, or a couple of years ago?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. But I understand that you did say affirmatively that you had met Janet Jagan, the wife of the Prime Minister of British Guiana.

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And did you invoke the fifth amendment in answer to the question as to whether you had discussed the provision of this printing press and other paraphernalia in the establishment of a newspaper there?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I did refuse to answer, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You have quite frankly said that you were a Socialist and a Marxist and believed in the Marxist theory, but that you are not now, and never have been, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HUBERMAN. That's right.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, now, to my mind it poses a number of questions which are the crux of the hearings here.

The Internal Security Act established the Subversive Activities Control Board and empowers that Board to cite and, upon due process, to conclude whether an organization is either Communist-action, Communist-front, or Communist-infiltrated and, having thus been cited, after being given an opportunity to contest the issue, if the Board finds that an association or organization comes under the wording of that statute and if it then fails to register as such, its directors and then its members may be compelled to register.

Now, by saying that you are a Socialist and a Marxist, but not an actual member of the Communist Party—I am just thinking out loud—that may be a loophole and an escape valve under that statute—

Mr. MOULDER. Or a record member.

Mr. WILLIS. Or a record member.

Then coming to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, it appears that you did have contact with the wife of the Prime Minister of British Guiana and, though you did not say it, I assume for the purpose of what I have in mind that there was an understanding that you would supply printing material and be instrumental in creating a newspaper favorable to her regime or that of her husband.

There again, because of the position you take, the question is whether you are an agent or not.

Mr. HUBERMAN. My views and position as a non-Communist were expressed and known long before the act of which you speak was passed.

I am not a Communist. If I had agreed with the aims of the party, I would have joined it.

Mr. WILLIS. Right. And by that position—let us assume the truthfulness of your position—here is a wide-open breach, or an opportunity for a wide-open breach, for a witness to escape both the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the Internal Security Act by saying, “Yes, I am a Communist, I am a Marxist, but I do not belong to any organization. Therefore, you cannot cite me and I am not an agent because I did not voluntarily—

Mr. HUBERMAN. I never said—

Mr. WILLIS. —have a contract with British Guiana.” Yet under your theory, in furnishing these things, it might be another escape valve to escape registration? I say that for the record because these hearings have to do with the continuing study of our internal security laws—I named two of them—and to find possible loopholes and escape valves, and since you haven’t answered the questions I am adding this statement to the record to show that people who take your position and can get by with it have found a way to evade and avoid two internal security laws, which is the reason why we might have to consider amendments. I made the statement. You have refused to enlighten us, but I think my conclusions are justified and if you want to say anything about it and subject yourself to cross-examination, let us have it.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. In your statement just made, I don’t know whether you meant to do it, but you said that I say, or a person comes in and

says, "I am a Communist, I am a Marxist," and so on. I never said that.

Mr. WILLIS. I didn't say that. I said you are a Marxist and a Socialist, but you say you are not a Communist.

Mr. HUBERMAN. That is right. I just wanted to clarify that and go on to say I am not attempting to evade any laws. There is no implication or conclusion such as you have drawn under the law or acts.

Mr. WILLIS. And I concede that. Maybe you have found a way. I have an idea that I am going to tell the staff to look into a situation of that kind.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Willis, I would suggest to you that the door is still open under the Internal Security Act on the question of groups that are infiltrating, because the witness has taken the fifth amendment regarding other key personnel in this organization known as the Friends of British Guiana, so the door is not closed. That a loophole has been discovered on that section of the Internal Security Act is a possibility.

Mr. WILLIS. We will do it in executive session, but I will say now for the record I suggest this part of the record be submitted to the Department of Justice.

Mr. BRUCE. Agreed.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. WILLIS. For improvement in the law.

Mr. NITTLE. In line with the interrogation by Mr. Willis, I should like to inquire whether you were not a member of the National Council of the League of American Writers in the year 1938?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't remember, but I may have been.

(At this point Mr. Moulder and Mr. Willis left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Let me refresh your memory by submitting to you a copy of *The Bulletin of the League of American Writers*, Summer, 1938, Volume IV, No. 4. I direct your attention to the lower left portion of page 2, which states in part:

This report by the Executive Secretary was accepted and ordered printed in the Bulletin by the National Council at an enlarged meeting May 11. Present were: * * * Leo Huberman * * *.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I said I didn't remember, but I may well have been.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to read into the record the statement of the former Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle, as set forth in the committee's *Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications*:

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. * * * The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control.

Now, how long were you a member of the League of American Writers?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

(At this point Mr. Willis returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been a member of the League of American Writers?

Mr. HUBERMAN. As I pointed out before, I didn't even remember that I was a member. I just don't remember.

Mr. NITTLE. Perhaps you will remember the purposes for which the League was formed. Were you in attendance at the Congress of American Revolutionary Writers set up for May 1, 1935?

Mr. WILLIS (presiding). That is a question.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't remember, but I may have been.

Mr. NITTLE. The Congress was held for the purpose of creating the League of American Writers and the call for that Congress appears in the Communist *Daily Worker* of January 18, 1935. I shall read to you excerpts from that call:

Many revolutionary writers live virtually in isolation, lacking opportunities to discuss vital problems with their fellows. Others are so absorbed in the revolutionary cause that they have few opportunities for thorough examination and analysis. Never have the writers of the nation come together for fundamental discussion.

We propose, therefore, that a Congress of American revolutionary writers be held in New York City on May 1, 1935¹; that to this Congress shall be invited all writers who have achieved some standing in their respective fields; who have clearly indicated their sympathy to the revolutionary cause; who do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, of the inevitability of revolution. Subsequently, we will seek to influence and win to our side those writers not yet so convinced.

* * * * *

We believe such a Congress should create the League of American Writers, affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers.

The International Union of Revolutionary Writers, Mr. Huberman, had its headquarters in Moscow, did it not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have no idea.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, nonetheless, perhaps you do have an idea—

Mr. HUBERMAN. I would doubt it very much.

Mr. NITTLE. —as to whether or not the League of American Writers, of which you appear to have been a member, subscribed nevertheless to the revolutionary cause of the world Communist movement as set forth in its call.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have no idea.

(Document marked "Huberman Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. In view of the fact that your memory with respect to what I think I may rightly describe as important events in 1935 and 1938 seems to be a little weak, perhaps I should at this point determine whether your memory has been refreshed and ask you whether in the year 1938 you were a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I was not, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You remember that fact distinctly, do you?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I remember that I have never joined the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Oh, you have never joined the Communist Party?

Mr. HUBERMAN. That's correct.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a Communist in 1938?

¹ The Congress was actually held April 26-28, 1935, in New York City.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I have said repeatedly now that I have never been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. I asked were you a Communist? I did not add the word "Party." Were you a Communist in 1938?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I was not a Communist.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at one time the director of public relations of the National Maritime Union in the early 1940's?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me ask you at this point whether it was not one of your purposes in forming the Friends of British Guiana to assist in the establishment of a Communist regime in British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. You do know that Cheddi Jagan is a Communist, do you not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I certainly do not.

Mr. NITTLE. I imagine you are aware that he has himself conceded that he is a Communist?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I am not aware of that at all. I am aware that he was a guest at the White House.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you say?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I say I am aware that he was a guest at the White House several months ago.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes. It was unfortunate that he was.

Mr. NITTLE. On Tuesday, June 26, 1962, in testimony before the British Guiana Commission of Inquiry, Cheddi Jagan testified, and I will quote in part from his testimony:

I have always said that I am a Marxist * * *. Now, Sir, by saying that I am a Marxist, I could be at one and the same time anti-Colonialist, an anti-Imperialist, a Democrat, a Socialist, a Humanist, and a Communist.

That may seem to be a play upon words.

Mr. WILLIS. What is your question?

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware of the testimony of Cheddi Jagan before the Royal Commission?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I was not aware of the testimony, but I would like to observe that it doesn't say what you said it did.

Mr. NITTLE. Let us see whether he has been more specific at some other time. I am going to quote to you extracts from speeches made by Dr. Cheddi Jagan which have been collected and printed in the Report of a Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in British Guiana in February 1962, a report printed in London by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

He said in a speech to the People's Progressive Party's Annual Congress on April 1962, a speech which was reported in the Sunday Times on May 13 at page 4:

We must not be divided on the issue of Communism. Communism is winning throughout the world. It will win everywhere.

On another occasion he said:

We are a Socialist party and nationalisation of the sugar industry, and indeed of all major industries, is our objective.

Have you personally talked to Cheddi Jagan about your proposed organization?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse again on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you personally talked to Cheddi Jagan at all on any subject recently?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes, I have. Did you say recently?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. HUBERMAN. I don't know how recently but I have talked to him.

Mr. NITTLE. Within the past year?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think so.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Felix Cummings, the registered agent of Cheddi Jagan in the United States?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse again on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period of your membership in the National Maritime Union, did you know Felix Cummings as a delegate from the Marine Workers Union of Trinidad, British West Indies?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I think I may have met him then but I don't remember the occasion or what he was. I met a great many seamen at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. Has he, Felix Cummings, served as a liaison agent between your group, the Friends of British Guiana, and Cheddi Jagan?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse again on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you received any instructions from Felix Cummings with respect to the conduct of your organization?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. To save time I am going to have to invoke the fifth amendment on any question relating to this organization.

Mr. LONDON. May I address the committee? I know that ordinarily I am not supposed to.

Mr. WILLIS. I prefer not. Really it would not get us anywhere.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. BRUCE. I would say again, Mr. Chairman, the same point I raised yesterday, however, that the witness cannot invoke the fifth amendment for the purpose of saving time.

Mr. WILLIS. No. Well, we know that.

Mr. LONDON. I think the witness indicated that any question in this line would be answered in the same way, and he wanted to save the committee time by indicating that a repetition of questions relating to this organization would receive the same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. If this organization is dealing with the Cheddi Jagan regime down there, having conversations with it, negotiations with it, why would he invoke the fifth amendment when the administration is doing the same thing?

Mr. WILLIS. I can guess. It is because of Federal law, the Foreign Agents Registration Act—it is the subject of our inquiry—and maybe other things.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't think, Mr. Willis, that the witness is concerned about possible violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act on his part. In my opinion, that is not his reason for invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. He might have found a loophole to get around it.

Mr. SCHERER. Even the administration is not too concerned about the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The President not too long ago ignored an interpretation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act by the Attorney General in the Franklin Roosevelt administration and issued an Executive order which allowed blatant Communist propaganda to flood this country through the U.S. mail.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Huberman, has any money passed between you and Felix Cummings on behalf of your organization?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions by the staff, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Any questions?

Mr. BRUCE. I would like to.

Have you at any time had the cooperation or the advice of anyone in Government in the formation or activities of the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. BRUCE. You what?

Mr. HUBERMAN. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. BRUCE. You plead the fifth amendment on that question?

Mr. HUBERMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WILLIS. Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Marcia Rabinowitz.

Mr. WILLIS. Please come forward. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARCIA G. RABINOWITZ, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name for the record, please?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Marcia G. Rabinowitz.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. REIN. David Rein, R-e-i-n, 711 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the place of your residence, please?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. 7 Serpentine Drive, New Rochelle, N.Y.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state the date and place of your birth?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. March 30, 1913, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I hold a degree, B.A. degree, from Hunter College and a master's degree from Hunter and have had graduate courses at New York University.

Mr. NITTLE. What graduate courses did you take at New York University? What subjects?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Visual aids, statistics.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Housewife.

Mr. NITTLE. Our information indicates that you are the Marcia G. Rabinowitz who represents herself as the treasurer of a recently formed organization titled "Friends of British Guiana." Are you presently serving the organization in that capacity?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I would like to invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment of the Constitution. I feel that this committee is not really interested in accumulating legislative data. I think over the period of years I have felt that the committee has been more interested in getting other kinds of material, asking people questions about people they have known.

Mr. WILLIS. What, for instance?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Inquiring into their political beliefs and their associations, and I just have a feeling that—

Mr. WILLIS. That is not in accord with the fifth amendment.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. No. I just have a feeling. I was just explaining to you as to why I took the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. That part is overruled because the Supreme Court has ruled many times we have jurisdiction, so that is the end of it. You invoke the fifth amendment. Any other statement you now are making I overrule as being improper according to the decisions of the Supreme Court itself.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Well, I was just trying to explain why I have felt it incumbent upon me to take the fifth amendment. I believe in the Constitution. I cherish deeply the privileges which it grants to us under the first and fifth amendments. I felt that this committee has not been interested, that in order to come before this committee and be a dissenter, that one is covered immediately with suspicion. I feel that our democracy and our country has grown because of dissent and because of controversy, and because I believe in the Constitution I therefore plead my privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. Would you tell us who are the other officers and directors of the Friends of British Guiana?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already answered. I take the fifth amendment, plead the privilege.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Rabinowitz, in view of your statement, I shall be obliged to state to you that this committee has information that you were a member of the Coney Island Club of the Communist Party in the Second Assembly District, Kings County, New York. Were you at any time a member of the Coney Island Club of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you undertaken your activities in the organization, Friends of British Guiana, at the direction of persons known by you to be members or officials of the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I haven't admitted or said that I have undertaken any activities on behalf of the Friends of British Guiana.

Mr. NITTLE. I realize you haven't admitted that, but I am asking you whether you have.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already answered the question by previously stating—

Mr. NITTLE. What is your answer to the question?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already answered the question.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your answer to the question I just propounded?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, just answer the question.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Rabinowitz, were you present during the interrogation of Melitta del Villar?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Yes, I was in the hearing room.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Melitta del Villar?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Do I know her?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I saw her here yesterday.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you known her prior to her appearance here before this committee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Why do you try to lead the committee to believe that you only knew this woman as the result of seeing her here yesterday?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I didn't lead the committee to believe anything, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I heard your answer. You said, "I saw her here yesterday."

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Well, that was the question that was put to me, whether I had been in the hearing room yesterday and whether I had heard her testimony.

Mr. SCHERER. You were asked whether you knew this woman. You said: "I saw her here yesterday." By making that kind of response, it is obvious that you tried to mislead the committee into believing that the only acquaintance or knowledge you had of this witness resulted from seeing her here in the hearing room yesterday. Then, when you are asked specifically if you knew her before yesterday, you refuse to answer and hide behind the fifth amendment. It is obvious to me that you knew her before yesterday and by your answer tried to mislead this committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know her husband, Louis J. Amster?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Dr. Louis Miller?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, it was disclosed that George Evans, a member of the editorial staff of the *National Guardian* in charge of promotion, had been active in the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee group, and now it appears that a *National Guardian* representative, Kumar, K-u-m-a-r, Goshal, is active in support of Jagan's cause in British Guiana. Do you know Kumar Goshal of the *National Guardian*?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I don't understand the line of the questioning.

Mr. WILLIS. The question is whether you know the individual named by counsel.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. In the April 2, 1962, *National Guardian* an article relating to Janet Jagan's story of Guiana riots records certain events in Mrs. Jagan's visit to North America as follows:

OVATION IN CANADA: Mrs. Jagan was in New York March 15-19—that is in the year 1962—

on her way home to Georgetown from Canada. She had received a standing ovation from 2,200 at a Canadian Peace Council rally where she spoke along with Dr. Willard Uphaus and the *GUARDIAN's* Kumar Goshal.

(See Huberman Exhibit No. 4, pp. 2018, 2019.)

Could you tell us whether Kumar Goshal is in any way affiliated with the Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already claimed my privilege.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you personally acquainted with Cheddi Jagan?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I claim the privilege.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Have you met with him during the course of his visits to the United States?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already claimed the privilege.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the 1960 *National Guardian* banquet in New York at which he was reportedly the guest of honor?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I claim the privilege.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the April 23, 1962, issue of the *National Guardian* in which appears the advertisement already referred to in the interrogation of Mr. Huberman, entitled "Will British Guiana's Independence Be Delayed For Want of a Daily Paper," ostensibly an advertisement by the Friends of British Guiana in which your name appears as treasurer. In that advertisement of the Friends of British Guiana, dated April 23, 1962, the following language is contained:

Guardian readers and the citizens of Guiana have special ties. The Guardian Library, founded in 1955 with thousands of books sent by readers in response to Mrs. Jagan's appeal, is flourishing in Freedom House, PPP [People's Progressive Party] headquarters. Readers will remember too that Prime Minister Jagan was guest of honor at the 1960 Guardian banquet in New York.

(See Huberman Exhibit No. 2, p. 2012.)

Can you tell us whether any special ties exist between the *National Guardian* and the Friends of British Guiana?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already claimed the privilege in this direction.

Mr. NITTLE. Cedric Belfrage is carried upon the masthead of the *National Guardian* as its Havana correspondent.

Mr. WILLIS. Who is he?

Mr. NITTLE. Cedric Belfrage, B-e-l-f-r-a-g-e.

Mr. Chairman, in response to your question, the committee will recall that Cedric Belfrage, now described as editor-in-exile of the *Na-*

tional Guardian, testified before this committee on May 5, 1953. When advised that the committee was in possession of sworn testimony identifying him as a member of the Communist Party, he declined to answer any question relating thereto, invoking the fifth amendment. He also declined to answer any questions relating to his identification by Elizabeth Bentley as the Cedric Belfrage engaged in espionage activities in the United States who, while working for the British Intelligence Service, relayed information to the Russians. It is also interesting to note that James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*, in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 4, 1956, invoked the fifth amendment as a basis for refusal to testify as to whether or not he accepted directives from the publications commission of the Communist Party, as well as to his membership in the Communist Party.

Now Mrs. Rabinowitz, is Cedric Belfrage, the editor-in-exile and also the Havana correspondent of the *National Guardian*, known to you personally?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I plead the privilege under the fifth.

Mr. NITTE. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I have several questions.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act states that a foreign principal includes not only the governments of foreign countries, but, and I quote, "political parties and persons."

Is the organization known as Friends of British Guiana an agent of Jagan or any political party or persons of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. The act further defines an agent of a foreign principal, among other things, as "any person who within the United States solicits, disburses, dispenses, or collects compensation, contributions, loans, money, or anything of value, directly or indirectly, for a foreign principal."

Did the Friends of British Guiana solicit funds for presses or for the establishment of a newspaper or for any other purpose on behalf of Jagan or any political party or persons of British Guiana?

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I have already claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. This is a separate question.

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Did the Friends of British Guiana file application to be registered as the agent of a foreign principal, including Jagan, his wife, or any political party or persons of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Is not that really the basis for your refusal to answer these questions, the fear of violation of that law—and you would have a right to plead it. Isn't that the real basis why you and the gentleman who preceded you invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. RABINOWITZ. Well, I feel, sir, that I claimed the privilege and I think that that is self-explanatory.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. I think it is self-explanatory. I have no further questions. The witness is excused. (Witness excused.)

Mr. NITTLE. Michael Crenovich.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL CRENOVICH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Michael Crenovich, from New York City.

Mr. BRUCE. I could not hear the last part of the answer.

Mr. CRENOVICH. I am living in New York City.

Mr. BRUCE. New York City?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Will counsel identify himself for the record, please, stating his name and office address.

Mr. REIN. David Rein. I believe the—

Mr. WILLIS. What is the name of the witness?

Mr. NITTLE. Crenovich. Your last name has been variously spelled C-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h, C-r-e-n-o-v-i-t-c-h, and G-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h. Is that correct?

Mr. CRENOVICH. The only time that I can remember is when clerical errors have been made, but the name is C-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h.

Mr. WILLIS. Speak louder, please.

Mr. CRENOVICH. The name is C-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h, and anything else would be a clerical error.

Mr. NITTLE. You have also used the first name of Miguel, have you not?

Mr. CRENOVICH. It is the Spanish of Michael.

Mr. NITTLE. To save time, for a moment, I would like to summarize our information with respect to your birth and period of residence.

You were born in the year 1925 in Brooklyn, New York?

Mr. CRENOVICH. All right.

Mr. NITTLE. And sometime in 1929 you left Brooklyn and took up your residence in Argentina?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Right.

Mr. NITTLE. Where you remained until the year 1946?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that correct?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Right.

Mr. NITTLE. And you returned to the United States for service in the U.S. Army from which service you were discharged sometime in 1947?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Right.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you resided in the United States since 1947?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. During the past 5 years have you traveled outside of the United States and, if so, would you state the countries you have visited and the periods of your residence?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. When you refer to the fifth amendment, do you refer to the self-incrimination clause?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the extent of your formal education?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I attended primary and secondary schools in Argentina.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you had any formal educational training in the United States?

Mr. CRENOVICH. No.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I am a printing pressman.

Mr. WILLIS. Printing pressman?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Right.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you hold any office in an organization known as Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee's investigation, Mr. Crenovich, discloses that you are the actual lessee of Post Office Box 544, Cooper Station, New York, which is the address given in the advertisement of the Friends of British Guiana that appeared in the April 23, 1962, issue of the *National Guardian*, to which reference has already been made. (See Huberman Exhibit No. 2, p. 2012.)

Are you the lessee of Post Office Box 544, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. The records indicate that you made application for that box on March 22, 1962. Did you make application at that time?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 1," follows:)

CRENOVICH EXHIBIT No. 1

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	POSTMASTER Cooper Station 93 Fourth Avenue New York 3, N. Y.	POST OFFICE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.	DATE JAN 22 1962	BOX NO. 544
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APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE: Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes.

NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type)
MICHAEL CRENOVICH

NAME OF FIRM OR CORPORATION (If box is rented for use of either)
FRIENDS OF BRITISH GUIANA

KIND OF BUSINESS
COMMITTEE TO PROMOTE FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN U.S. AND BRITISH GUIANA

BUSINESS ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)
245 AVE C

HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)
245 AVENUE C, N.Y. 9, N.Y.

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT
X Michael Crenovich V: P

DATE OF APPLICATION
3/22/62

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently the vice president of the Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not give that information at the time you made application for your postal box?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Except on the records of the organization, the committee's investigation discloses that your name has never publicly appeared as an officer of Friends of British Guiana. Why has your name not appeared in public announcements of this organization?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. At whose direction did you make application for that postal box on behalf of Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. As you might have gathered in the course of the hearings, mention has been made of Felix Cummings, who is registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of Cheddi Jagan and who has also appeared as a correspondent at the United Nations for Cheddi Jagan's newspaper, *Thunderer*.

Are you personally acquainted with Felix Cummings?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you received any instructions from Felix Cummings with respect to the efforts undertaken by you on behalf of Friends of British Guiana?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. I received no instructions from Felix Cummings about anything whatsoever.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you discussed with Felix Cummings your activities on behalf of Friends of British Guiana?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you had any discussions with him?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Felix Cummings to be a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of Puerto Rico or of British Guiana?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I have no knowledge of any such thing.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been active in the affairs of the Communist Party in any country or territory outside of the continental United States?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. What have been your principal occupations since 1947?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I have been an office clerk.

Mr. NITTLE. Office clerk.

Mr. CRENOVICH. And now printing pressman.

Mr. NITTLE. Now a printing pressman.

Mr. WILLIS. For what publication?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Not—in job printing shops, not publications.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you not also been occupied as a political propagandist in addition to the occupations which you have named?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a leaflet announcement in Spanish of a forthcoming publication titled *Ahora—A-h-o-r-a*—issued on or about October 1947, which we have had translated into English. The leaflet and the translation are marked for identification as Crenovich Exhibit No. 2.

(Documents handed to witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. The offices of the publication are at 799 Broadway, Room 333, New York 3, N.Y., and your name is spelled Miguel—M-i-g-u-e-l—Grenovich—G-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h, listed as the “administrador,” which I believe is the Spanish equivalent for business manager.

Are you the Miguel Grenovich who appears as the *administrador* of that publication?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

(Documents marked “Crenovich Exhibit No. 2” appear on pp. 2036, 2037.)

CRENOVICH EXHIBIT No. 2

Received for Review

Ahora

ATENCION

**EL LUNES 3 DE OCTUBRE EMPIEZA A CIRCULAR UN
NUEVO PERIODICO HISPANO EN NUEVA YORK**

AHORA

En Marcha Hacia un Mundo de Paz y Libertad

El semanario "AHORA" dedicará sus páginas a la defensa de los intereses vitales e inmediatos del Pueblo.

"AHORA" presentará a sus lectores información auténtica sobre la lucha del pueblo para mejorar sus condiciones económicas y defender sus derechos políticos.

"AHORA" servirá a sus lectores con lectura seria, amena, comprensible.

Páginas dedicadas al cine, los deportes, la moda, etc., fotografías, dibujos y caricaturas.

La prensa al servicio del imperialismo y la reacción se esfuerza por mantener al pueblo sumido en la confusión y el engaño. Pero los pueblos del mundo están en marcha hacia la conquista de su liberación . . . "AHORA" es parte de la lucha progresiva de los pueblos . . .

"AHORA" será el campeón de los derechos Puertorriqueños, aquí y en Puerto Rico. "AHORA" luchará contra los infames ataques que la prensa imperialista dirige contra el pueblo Puertorriqueño; luchará contra los abusos de la policía y por conseguir el respeto que merece nuestra gente.

En su primer número "AHORA" presentará un análisis de la más reciente maniobra del alcalde O'Dwyer para engañar a los votantes boricuas. No deje de leer este importante e interesante artículo.

PARA ESTAR AL DIA CON LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS NACIONALES Y MUNDIALES LEA "AHORA". Procúrelo en los puestos de periódicos, en su organización, o en su sindicato. "AHORA" es su periódico, ayúdenos a extender su circulación.

AHORA

Oficinas:

799 BROADWAY, Rm. 333
New York 3, N. Y.

Teléfono: GR 5-3933

CUERPO EDITORIAL:

Director: Rafael López Rosas

Administrador: Miguel Grenovich

Carmen Meano, Rev. Pablo Cotto Ortiz, Angel M. Arroyo, Antonio Padriguez Berrios, Juan Emmanuelli, Emilio Ramirez, Francisco Archilla, Jesús Colón.

COLABORADORES:

Frank Ibáñez, Mauricio Calleja, José Davila Sempit, José Luis González, Gil Gerena, José Gil de Madrid, Julia Pinto Gondia, Luis Quera Chiesa, Pedro A. Ramos, Ramula Lachatanier, Clemente Soto Velez, Mercedes Arroyo y otras

Nuestro Programa

Por el mejoramiento económico, social y político de la comunidad puertorriqueña e hispana.

Por la promoción de los puertorriqueños e hispanos en empleos públicos y en la dirección de los sindicatos obreros.

Por la inmediata supresión de los atropellos de la policía.

Por la solaridad de los trabajadores puertorriqueños e hispanos con las fuerzas progresistas de América y del mundo.

Por la Paz y el cumplimiento de los derechos fundamentales del hombre.

Por la liberación nacional de Puerto Rico; por el derrocamiento del fascismo en España.

Por la restauración de la República Española.

CRENOVICH EXHIBIT NO. 2--(Continued)

Translation From 'Ahora' Article

Undated leaflet received for filing, October 7, 1949, announces new hispanic periodical to begin circulation in New York on Oct. 3.

Leaflet shows that the weekly publication "Ahora" (Now) will present authentic information to its readers concerning the fight of the people to improve economic conditions and defend their political rights.

Will cover theater, sports, fashions--will contain photographs, sketches and caricatures.

"'Ahora' will be the champion of Puerto Rican rights here and in Puerto Rico. 'Ahora' will fight the infamous attacks that the imperialist press makes on the Puerto Rican people; it will fight against the abuses of the police and for the attainment of the respect that our people deserve."

"In its first issue, 'Ahora' will present an analysis of the most recent trick of Mayor O'Dwyer to deceive the Puerto Rican voters..."

The following is the program of the publication as shown on the leaflet:

"Our Program

For the economic, social and political betterment of the Puerto Rican and hispanic community.

"For the promotion of Puerto Ricans and hispanic people in public offices and in the administration of the workers' syndicates.

"For the immediate suppression of the abuses of the police.

"For the solidarity of the Puerto Rican and hispanic workers with the progressive forces of America and of the world.

"For peace and the attainment of the fundamental rights of man.

"For the national liberation of Puerto Rico; for the overthrow of fascism in Spain.

"For the restoration of the Spanish Republic."

Several of the staff members of the publication have been affiliated with the publication "Liberacion." (See folder on this publication)

clc

Mr. NITTLE. The leaflet declares:

"Ahora" will be the champion of Puerto Rican rights here and in Puerto Rico. "Ahora" will fight the infamous attacks that the imperialist press makes on the Puerto Rican people; it will fight against the abuses of the police and for the attainment of the respect that our people deserve.

The program of the publication is set forth in the leaflet and includes the following statement:

For the solidarity of the Puerto Rican and hispanic workers with the progressive forces of America and of the world.

Now, with respect to the last quotation from that exhibit, Mr. Crenovich, I ask you whether the reference to "progressive forces" in that statement of the program is Communist doubletalk meaning simply Communist forces?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I wouldn't say that.

Mr. NITTLE. You wouldn't say that?

Mr. CRENOVICH. That is not the way I read it.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were the *administrador* of that publication?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. As a matter of language, what is the meaning of the word "Ahora"?

Mr. CRENOVICH. In Spanish, it means "Now."

Mr. WILLIS. Now?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of page 4 of a publication titled *Liberación*, dated May 21, 1949, likewise in Spanish, marked for identification as Crenovich Exhibit No. 3, in which your name appears on the masthead as the business manager—that portion is in English—spelled Miguel C-r-e-n-o-v-i-t-c-h.

The place of publication is indicated as 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N.Y. This is also described in the masthead as a "progressive" newspaper.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Are you the Miguel Crenovitch mentioned in the masthead as the business manager of that publication?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

FOR LA
INDEPENDENCIA
DE PUERTO RICO

LIBERACIÓN

FOR LA
REPUBLICA
ESPAÑOLA

TRIBUNA PROGRESISTA

Published Weekly by

LIBERACION PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

RAFAEL LOPEZ ROSAS — Editor

JUAN EMMANUELLI — Manager

MIGUEL CRENOVITCH — Business Manager

23 West 26th Street. Tel. MU 4-8401 New York 10, N. Y.

Subscription: 6 Months \$1.00; \$2.00 per Year.

Entered as second class matter April 8, 1946, at the Post Office
of New York, N. Y., under Act of March 3, 1879.

AÑO III NO. 21

SABADO, MAYO, 21, 1949

Mr. NITTLE. Where is your present office? Where do you do your printing now?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Printing of what?

Mr. NITTLE. You said you were a job printer, didn't you?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes, for a commercial house.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you do your printing? What address?

Mr. CRENOVICH. It is I do the job as an employee.

Mr. NITTLE. No. I said: What is the address, the location?

Mr. CRENOVICH. The location is in downtown Brooklyn.

Mr. NITTLE. What street?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Washington Street.

Mr. NITTLE. What number?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I would rather—I would decline to answer the specific employer for which I work, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. I had the impression you were self-employed. Now, that is not correct, is it?

Mr. CRENOVICH. No.

Mr. NITTLE. You have an employer?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state the name of your employer?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground—on the same ground, the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Is your employer the Communist Party or a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I wouldn't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Beg pardon?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I wouldn't know that.

Mr. NITTLE. You wouldn't know, but, nonetheless, you plead the fifth amendment or invoke the fifth amendment to the inquiry who your employer is.

Are you invoking the fifth amendment because you sincerely believe an answer to this question might involve you in a criminal prosecution?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I maintain the same answer. I decline to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a copy of a leaflet marked for identification as Crenovich Exhibit No. 4, which sets forth the executive board and sponsors of an organization known as the Council for the Advancement of the Americas, with offices listed at 30 East 29th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Mr. NITTLE. Michael C-r-e-n-o-v-i-c-h, together with such well-known and identified Communists as Ferdinand Smith, Joseph P. Selly, Murray Winocur, and Jesus Colon, appears as a member of the executive board.

You are the Michael Crenovich named as a member of the executive board of the Council for the Advancement of the Americas, are you not?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. What were you advancing for the Americas as a member of the executive board of that council?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Crenovich, it is the committee's information that you have been one of the principal contacts between Latin American and U.S. Communists.

Would you desire to avail yourself of the opportunity to affirm or deny or explain that observation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CRENOVICH. No, that observation has no foundation.

Mr. NITTLE. It has what?

Mr. CRENOVICH. It has no foundation in fact.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not at least correct to say that you are one of the principal exponents of the Marxist-Leninist ideology as applied to events in Latin America?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

CRENOVICH EXHIBIT NO. 4

COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAS

30 EAST 29TH STREET

NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Murray Hill 3-9080

Executive Board

Noel Austin
Rabbi Shepherd Z. Baum
Lewis Allen Berne
Mauricio Callejo
Luis Quero Chiese
Jesus Colon
Michael Crenovich
Ralph D. Currie
Reverend Boise Dent
Julio Pinto Gandia
Gloris Girven
Ewart G. Guinier
Leonard Harris
Alpheus Hunton
Francis Luban

Reverend Luther MacNair
Manuel Madine
Winifred Norman
Herman P. Osborne
Ben Osse
Owen Roche
Rafael Lopez Rosas
Joseph P. Selly
Doris Senk
Ferdinand Smith
Leon Straus
Leona Thomas
Murray Winccur
Leon Woisy

Judy Peterson Newman, Secretary

Sponsors

(Partial Listing)

Louis Ademic, Writer
Mercedes Arroyo, Chairman, Mutualiste Obrera Puertorriquena
Noel Austin, Executive Committee, Sons and Daughters of Panama
Rabbi Shepherd Z. Baum
Harry Bridges, President, International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, CIO
Alfonso Bujosa, President, Comité Puertorriqueno pro Democracia Dominicana, San Juan, P.R.
Charles Collins, Vice-president, Hotel & Club Employees Union, Local 6, AFL
Reverend Boise Dent, Protestant Committee for Latin America
Irving Dichter, Regional Director, International Union, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, CIO
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director of Special Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
James H. Durkin, President, United Office & Professional Workers, CIO
Frank Duttro, President, Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union, Local 1, AFL
Professor Cary DeWitt Eldridge, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University, New York City
Jesus Flores, Lower Harlem Tenants League, New York City
Jose Flores, Writer, formerly with Office of Inter-American Affairs
Joseph Gaer, Publisher
Gloris Girven, Director, New York Youth Council
Shirley Graham, Novelist
Ewart G. Guinier, Secretary-Treasurer, United Public Workers, CIO
Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington
Deshiell Hammett, Writer
Benito Hernandez, New York Dispatcher, National Maritime Union, CIO
Brandon Howell, Secretary, Comité Puertorriqueno pro Wallace, San Juan, Puerto Rico
Langston Hughes, Poet
Alpheus Hunton, Educational Director, Council on African Affairs

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of the Communist organ, *The Worker*, of March 8, 1959, page 15, marked as Crenovich Exhibit No. 5. There is an announcement of the Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 (Bway), New York, setting forth a schedule of registration for 3-week classes, listing you as the instructor on the subject of Latin America.

Did you instruct on that subject as scheduled?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

CRENOVICH EXHIBIT No. 5
[The Worker, Mar. 8, 1959]

Register now for new THREE-WEEK CLASSES—March 16-April 2

Mondays (March 16, March 23, March 30)

6:45 — Marxist Theory of the State — Henry Klein

8:30 — Great Documents of U.S. History — Herbert Aptheker

Tuesdays (March 17, March 24, March 31)

6:45 — Independent Political Action — Arnold Johnson

8:30 — Latin America Today — Michael Crenovich

Wednesdays (March 18, March 25, April 1)

6:45 — The New Soviet Seven-Year Plan — Myer Weis

8:30 — The Chinese Communes — Sue Warren

Thursdays (March 19, March 26, April 2)

6:45 — Dialectics and Science — Joseph Nahem

8:30 — Three Film Masterpieces — Harold Collins

plus other courses and lecturers

\$2.50 for each full course; single admissions — \$1.00

FACULTY of SOCIAL SCIENCE, 80 E. 11 (Bway) GRamercy 3-6810

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you another leaflet of the Faculty of Social Science, issued May 2, 1959, marked as Crenovich Exhibit No. 6, setting forth a "5-week term of 6 classes on the Marxist analysis of major current questions," titled "Six for Five on the world today," and scheduling Wednesday evening classes in the months of May and June, described as follows in the leaflet:

THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA—with Michael Crenovich. Current developments in Cuba, Venezuela, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere; and their significance for the U.S.

Did you conduct that course?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. BRUCE. What was the date of that, Mr. Counselor?

Mr. NITTLE. That is dated May 2, 1959.

Did you obtain your knowledge of current developments in Cuba, Venezuela, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere, as advertised in the leaflet, from contacts with Latin American Communists?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, our committee's *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*—and I address this also to the witness—describes the Faculty of Social Science as the new Communist Party training school, opened in New York City in September 1958, as a successor of the Communist Jefferson School of Social Science, the latter having been dissolved principally for the purpose of evading the registration requirements of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and was disbanded only after proceedings had been instituted against it before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Mr. Crenovich, were you a member of the Communist Party during the period of your instructorship at the Faculty of Social Science?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Crenovich Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

SIX FOR FIVE

on the world today

A NEW 5-WEEK TERM OF 6 CLASSES

ON THE MARXIST ANALYSIS OF

MAJOR CURRENT QUESTIONS

SOMETHING NEW!

⊙ 5 Tuesday Mornings - 10:15-11:45 A. M. - May 12, 19, 26; June 2, 9

KEY WORLD AREAS - with Herbert Aptheker

Analysis of U.S. foreign policy today in major areas of the world such as China; Mid-East; Germany; Soviet Union; Latin America; Africa.

⊙ 5 Monday Evenings - 6:45-8:15 P. M. - May 11, 18, 25; June 1, 8

LABOR ISSUES TODAY - with Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock, others
Economic questions; political action; trade-union democracy; labor and the Negro; labor and the Left.

⊙ 5 Monday Evenings - 8:30-10:00 P. M. - May 11, 18, 25; June 1, 8

OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE - with Herbert Aptheker

A Marxist view of development and perspectives of the American people, with a critique of conservative, liberal, pragmatic views.

⊙ 5 Tuesday Evenings - 8:30-10:00 P. M. - May 12, 19, 26; June 2, 9

SOCIALIST CURRENTS AND THE 1960 ELECTIONS - with William Albertson
Policies, tactics, outlooks of the various socialist groupings in the U.S. towards the 1960 elections; role and policies of the Communists.

⊙ 5 Wednesday Evenings - 6:45-8:15 P. M. - May 13, 20, 27; June 3, 10

THE NEGRO QUESTION - with James E. Jackson, Herbert Aptheker, others
Roots of Negro oppression; economic and class structure; the South today; the Negro and world politics; theory of the Negro question.

⊙ 5 Wednesday Evenings - 8:30-10:00 P. M. - May 13, 20, 27; June 3, 10

THE U.S. AND LATIN AMERICA - with Michael Crenovich

Current developments in Cuba, Venezuela, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere; and their significance for the U.S.

⊙ All classes meet once weekly for five 90-minute sessions

⊙ Fee for each class is \$5; single admissions - \$1 per session

⊙ Registration 5-9 daily from April 27th

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, I think we should ask, Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you ever been a member?

Mr. CRENOVICH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Questions?

Mr. BRUCE. Yes.

Mr. Crenovich, have you ever recently met with Che Guevara?

Mr. CRENOVICH. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Have you ever been in the country of Colombia?

Mr. CRENOVICH. No; except in an airport, in a regular stop on a flight.

Mr. BRUCE. Just passing through?

Mr. CRENOVICH. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. I have nothing further.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Willis, that is all we have for today.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WILLIS. This will conclude the hearings for today and the committee will stand adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p.m., Thursday, November 15, 1962, the hearings adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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Evergood, Philip	Opposite 1963

F

Fairchild, Henry Pratt	2041
Faruck, Jarad	1961
Faulkner, Stanley	1965
Federman, Simon	1966
Felshin, Max	1961
Field, Robert D.	Opposite 1963
Fishman, Milton D.	1969
Fishman, Moe	1966
Flagg, Lewis, Jr.	1969
Flato, Charles S.	1947
Fletcher, Joseph F.	1937, 1961
Fletcher, Lenda G.	Opposite 1963
Flores, Jesus	2041
Flores, Jose	2041
Forbes, Kenneth Ripley	1954, 1961
Foster, Hazel E.	1966
France, Royal W.	1954, opposite 1963, 1966
France, Mrs. Royal W.	1954
France, Ruth C.	Opposite 1963
Frank, Waldo	1861, 1973
Frankel, Ruth	Opposite 1963
Frayde, Martha	1840,

1841, 1920-1923, 1929, 1930, 1988-1990, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1997

^a Appears as Dutto.

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Frazier, Elizabeth P.	1966
Frenyear, Marion	1850, 1886
Friedman, Bertha	1946, 1948, 1985, 1986
Friedman, Leonard M.	1850
Frishkoff, Louis H.	1969
Fritchman, Stephen H.	Opposite 1963, 1966
Frye, G. Shubert	1969
Furst, Joseph B.	1966

G

Gaede, Erwin A.	Opposite 1963
Gaer, Joseph	2041
Gage-Colby, Ruth	1861
Gandia, Julio Pinto. (See Pinto Gandia, Julio.)	
Garvin, Pauline P.	1954
George, Hamilton	1969
Gerena, Gil	2036
Gibadlo, Charles	Opposite 1963
Gibson, Richard	1934-1937
Gilbert, Richard	1966
Gil de Lamadrid, Jose	2036
Girven, Gloria	2041
Glower, I. G.	1969
Gluck, Isadore	1952
Gluck, Sidney J.	1838,
	1839, 1862, 1867, 1868, 1890, 1893, 1902, 1903, 1916, 1917, 1943, 1944,
	1949, 1951-1974 (testimony), 1976, 1978, 1982.
Gnasnin, Charles G.	Opposite 1963
Gnasnin, Mrs. Charles G.	Opposite 1963
Goldburg, Robert E.	1961, opposite 1963
Goldman, Marcus I.	Opposite 1963
Goldstein, Israel	1969
Gonzalez, Jose Luis. (See Luis Gonzalez, Jose.)	
Goodlett, Carlton B.	1850, 1884, 1966, 1973 ⁴
Gordon, Jesse	1854, 1855, 1870, 1872, 1927, 1928
Gorman, Patrick E.	1961
Gorsline, Douglas	1861
Goshal, Kumar	2018, 2029, 2030
Graham, Shirley (Mrs. W. E. B. Dubois)	1934, 1966, 2041
Granger, William L.	1969
Grant, Joanne	2017, 2018
Green, Berta	1934
Greenbaum, F.	1969
Greenberg, Sarah	1969
Greenway, Cornelius	1969
Grenovich, Miguel. (See Crenovich, Michael.)	
Griest, Ellwood	Opposite 1963
Gross, Louis D.	1969
Guevara, Ernesto "Ché"	2045
Guinier, Ewart G.	2041
Gundlach, Ralph H.	Opposite 1963, 1966, 2041
Gwathmey, Robert	1966

H

Haber, Jack L.	Opposite 1963
Haessler, Carl	1966
Hall, Thomas C.	Opposite 1963
Hallinan, Vincent	Opposite 1963, 1966
Hamilton, Alice	1966
Hammett, Dashiell	2041
Harris, Leonard	2041
Harrison, William	1966
Hart, Pearl M.	1966

⁴ Misspelled Goodlet.

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Haven, Dorothy-----	Opposite 1963, 1966
Haydon, A. Eustace-----	1850
Healey, Richard-----	1966
Heifetz, Robert J.-----	1973
Heiman, Julius-----	1895
Hernandez, Benito-----	2041
Herrick, Marion E.-----	1966
Hester, Hugh B.-----	Opposite 1963, 1973
Hickey, Edward J.-----	1907
Hill, Charles A.-----	1850, 1886, 1961, 1966
Hiskey, Clarence F.-----	1895
Hocking, William E.-----	1850, 1884
Hodson, Chester-----	1961
Hoersch, Victor A.-----	1966
Hoffman, Morton-----	1966
Holman, Halstead-----	Opposite 1963
Honzik, Charles H.-----	Opposite 1963
Horowitz, Phillip-----	1966
Howard, Daniel-----	1966, 1973
Howell, Brandon-----	2041
Howells, John N. M.-----	Opposite 1963
Huberman, Leo-----	1842,
	1870, 1873-1876, opposite 1963, 2003-2027 (testimony), 2030
Hughes, Kenneth (DePew)-----	1966
Hughes, Langston-----	2041
Hunton, (William) Alphaeus-----	2041 ⁵

I

Ibanez, Frank-----	2036
Ishmael, Richard-----	2019

J

Jackson, James E.-----	2044
Jacson, Frank. (<i>See</i> Vandendreschd, Jacques Mornard.)	
Jagan, Cheddi-----	1841, 1842, 1936, 1937, 1960, 2004, 2008, 2011-2016, 2018, 2020,
	2021, 2025, 2026, 2029-2031, 2034
Jagan, Janet Rosenberg (Mrs. Cheddi Jagan)-----	1842,
	2011, 2012, 2017-2019, 2021, 2030
James, Fleming, Sr.-----	1961
Jehle, Herbert-----	1850
Jewett, Mary Lou-----	Opposite 1963
Jewett, V. Randolph-----	Opposite 1963
Jimerson, Earl W.-----	1961
Joedler, Allen-----	1969
Johnson, Arnold-----	2042
Johnson, John L.-----	1966
Johnson, Oakley C.-----	1966
Johnson, Stafford E.-----	1961
Jones, Ashton B.-----	Opposite 1963
Jones, John Paul-----	1961, 1969
Jones, Laurence J.-----	1954
Jones, Thomas S.-----	1969
Joyce, Robert-----	2019

K

Kaelter, Wolli-----	1966
Kahler, Erich-----	Opposite 1963
Kaldor, Nicolas-----	2015
Kallen, Horace M.-----	Opposite 1963
Kamen, Samuel-----	1966
Keithahn, Richard R.-----	1954
Kekkonen (Urho)-----	1973

⁵ Appears as Alpheus.

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Kelshall, Jack	2015
Kemble, Edwin C.	Opposite 1963
Kennedy, John F.	1885
Kent, Rockwell	Opposite 1963, 1966
Kilgore, Thomas, Jr.	1961
Kirchwey, Freda	1850, 1861, 1877, 1878, 1884, 1923
Kirshner, Harold	1969
Klein, Henry	2042
Klein, Isaac	1966
Koch, Leo F.	1973
Koenigsberg, Raphael	1880
Kohn, Lillian	1969
Kracek, Opal F.	1966
Krantz, Abraham	1966
Kravitz, A. S.	Opposite 1963

L

Lachataniere, Romulo	2036
Lamadrid, Jose Gil de. (See Gil de Lamadrid, Jose.)	
Lamb, Helen B.	1850, 1884
Lamont, Corliss	1854, 1981
Lane, Mark	1942
Lathrop, John Howland	1961, 1969
Lawrence, Edith C.	Opposite 1963
Lawson, John Howard	1969
Lazarus, Simon M.	1839, 1881-1883, 1887
Lealtad, Catherine D.	Opposite 1963
Lehrmen, Nathaniel S.	1966
Lenel, Irmgard	Opposite 1963, 1966
Lens, Sidney	1855
Lenske, Aryay	1966
Lockwood, Charles C.	Opposite 1963
Loewy, Ariel G.	Opposite 1963
Logan, B. H.	1966
Londe, Sol	1966
London, Ephraim	2003
Longstreth, Emily C. P.	Opposite 1963
Longstreth, Walter C.	Opposite 1963
Lopez-Nussa Carrion, Emma. (See del Villar, Melitta.)	
López Rosas, Rafael	2036, 2039, 2041
Lothrop, Donald G.	1961
Love, Edgar A.	1966
Luban, Francia	2041
Luis Gonzalez, Jose	2036
Luscomb, Florence H.	Opposite 1963

M

MacDougall, Curtis D.	Opposite 1963
Macewan, Arthur	1850
Machado y Morales, Gerardo	1940
MacMartin, Helen H.	1966
MacNair, Luther	2041
Madison, Charles A.	Opposite 1963
Mandel, Seymour	Opposite 1963
Marel, Abraham H.	1969
Marinsky, Harry	1966
Marsalka, John M.	1966
Marsh, Arthur J.	1969
Marsh, Lafayette	1966
Marshak, Harry	1969
Marshak, Stella	1969
Masso, John D.	1969
May, Joseph H.	1969
May, Kenneth O.	1850
May, Sybil H.	2023

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Mayer, Henry	Opposite 1963, 1966
Mayer, Leo	1966
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McArthur, Harvey K	1966
McCov, Frank W	1969
McCrackin, Maurice	1937
McGowan, Edward D	1961
McManus, John T	1869, 1935, 1966
McReynolds, David	1937
McTernan, Francis J	1966
McTernan, John T	1966
McWilliams, Carey	1875
Meana, Carmen	2036
Medina, Julio	1869, 1932, 1934
Medina, Manuel	2041
Meiklejohn, Alexander	Opposite 1963
Melish, William Howard	1937, 1966, 1969
Miliband, Ralph	1872
Miller, Alexander F	1969
Miller, Clyde R	1850, 1886, opposite 1963
Miller, Jay	1850
Miller, Louis I	1838,
	1863, 1878, 1890-1895, 1898, 1902-1909, 1911-1914, 1918-1923, 1926,
	1927, 1953, 1974, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1989, 2007, 2029.
Miller, Warren	1861, 1877-1880, 1923
Mitchell, Walter	1850
Moffatt, Stanley	1966, 1973
Moncol, Andrew J	1966
Monroe, James O	1966
Morales, Juan Emmanuelli. (<i>See</i> Emmanuelli Morales, Juan.)	
Morford, Richard	1966
Morgan, Joe	1966
Morris, Robert S	Opposite 1963
Morris, William	1872
Mulzac, Hugh N	1961, 1966
Mundt, Carl	2005
Munsell, Alex	1954
Murad, Anatol	Opposite 1963
Murphy, George B., Jr	1966
Muste, A. J	1850, 1884

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Nahem, Joseph	2042
Nathan, Otto	1966
Nearing, Scott	1872
Nelson, Clarence T. R	1850
Nelson, Truman	1937
Nelson, Walter M	Opposite 1963, 1966
Newell, J. Pierce	1966
Newman, Judy Peterson	2041
Nielsen, Axel	1966
Noar, Berenice	1966
Norman, Winifred	2041
Novick, Samuel	1895

O

O'Connor, Harvey	1937, 1949, opposite 1963
O'Connor, Mrs. Harvey. (<i>See</i> O'Connor, Jessie.)	
O'Connor, James	1861, 1877, 1878, 1923, 1932
O'Connor, Jessie (Mrs. Harvey O'Connor; nee Jessie Bross Lloyd)	1937
O'Dwyer (William)	2037
Okhausen, George	1966
Olynyk, Paul	1966
Ormond, Mrs. John K	1966
Orr, Paul	Opposite 1963

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Orr, Mrs. Paul	Opposite 1963
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Osborne, Herman P.	2041
Osharin, Herbert I.	1969
Ossa, Ben	2041

P

Paine, George L.	Opposite 1963
Parker, Clarence	1966
Parsons, Howard L.	1966
Pauling, Linus (Carl)	1966
Peet, Edward L.	1966
Perkins, William H.	1954
Perry, Lewis	Opposite 1963
Peterson, Arno A.	Opposite 1963
Phelps, Dryden Linsley	1966
Phillip, Cyril	1942, 1954
Pinto Gandia, Julio	2036, 2041
Pollitt, Basil Riddiford	1851
Pollock, Nancy R.	1969
Pontius, Dale	1850
Pope, Arthur Upham	1966
Potash, Irving	2044
Potter, Russell	Opposite 1963
Powe, Ralph E.	1966
Pozenurok, S.	1969
Pratt, Arthur D., Jr.	1973
Price, Saul	1969
Prio Socarras, Carlos	1993
Prusshin, Joseph L.	1969

Q

Quero Chiesa, Luis	2036, 2041
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R

Raber, Rudolph	1966
Rabinowitz, Marcia G. (Mrs. Victor Rabinowitz)	1842,
1843, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2011–2013, 2020, 2027–2032 (testimony)	
Rabinowitz, Victor	2009, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2020
Ramirez, Emilio	2036
Ramos, Pedro A.	2036
Ray, Randy	1969
Regier, Erhart	2019
Rein, David	1951, 1974, 2027, 2032
Reynolds, Bertha C.	Opposite 1963, 1966
Rhoden, Charles S.	1969
Rice, Michael	1937
Richardson, Thomas	1970
Riley, John S.	1969
Roberson, Mason A.	Opposite 1963
Roberts, Holland (DeWitte)	1954
Robertson, R. L.	1973
Roche, Owen	2041
Rodes, Richard R.	1966
Rodriguez Berrios, Antonio	2036
Rodriguez-Diaz	1990
Rogow, Arnold A.	Opposite 1963
Rominger, W. G.	1966
Rosas, Rafael López. (<i>See</i> López Rosas, Rafael.)	
Rosebury, Theodore	Opposite 1963, 1966
Rosenberg, E.	1969
Rosenberg, Norman	1969
Rosenfeld, Herbert T.	Opposite 1963

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Rothenberg, Donald (Don)-----	1966
Rubin, Daniel-----	1966
Rubinstein, Annette T.-----	1966
Russell, Rose V.-----	Opposite 1963
Rustin, Bayard-----	1854, 1855, 1861, 1870, 1872
Ryan, W. Carson-----	1850

S

Santee, Virgil R.-----	1966
Saperstein, Celia-----	1943-1945, 1953
Sarvis, David-----	1966
Schachter, Simon-----	1965, 1966
Schappes, Morris U.-----	1966
Schilpp, Guy E. A.-----	1850
Schlesinger, Hyman-----	1966
Schmidt, Emma-----	1966
Schoenfeld, Leslie-----	Opposite 1963
Schutzer, Arthur-----	Opposite 1963
Schwarz, Frederick Charles-----	2019
Scott, Clinton Lee-----	Opposite 1963
Scott, Louis B.-----	Opposite 1963, 1966
Scott, Peter Lee-----	Opposite 1963
Selden, Paul-----	1969
Selly, Joseph P.-----	2040, 2041
Semprit, José Dávila. (<i>See Dávila Semprit, José.</i>)-----	
Senk, Doris-----	2041
Serri, Frank-----	1969
Shaffer, Anatole-----	1966
Sharp, Malcolm-----	1850
Shepp, Archie-----	1973
Shipler, Guy E.-----	1850, 1884
Shwenk, Emerson S.-----	1966
Siekevitz, Philip-----	Opposite 1963
Sigerist, Henry E.-----	1894
Silver, Edward N.-----	Opposite 1963
Simons, C. Lebron-----	1966
Singer, Rebecca Victoria (Mrs. Harry Stone)-----	1895
Slater, Thomas L.-----	1966
Slochower, Harry-----	1969
Sluis, Joost-----	2019
Smith, Ferdinand C.-----	2040, 2041
Smith, Louise Pettibone-----	1964-1966
Socarras, Carlos Prio. (<i>See Prio Socarras, Carlos.</i>)-----	
Solomon, Ruth W.-----	1966
Soto, Emilio V.-----	1841, 1987-1992 (testimony), 1994
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Spence, Homer-----	1880
Sper, Felix-----	1969
Spiers, John-----	1969
Spiers, Mrs. John-----	1969
Spofford, William B.-----	1961, 1966, 1973
Stalin, Josef (Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili)-----	1881
Stamm, Frederick K.-----	1961
Starfield, Martin J.-----	1969
Starr, William T.-----	1850
Sterne, Emma Gelders-----	1966
Stone, Victoria (Mrs. Harry Stone). (<i>See Singer, Rebecca Victoria.</i>)-----	
Straus, Leon-----	2041
Straus, Mark-----	1969
Straus, Nancy P.-----	Opposite 1963
Struik, Dirk J.-----	1936, 1937
Sugar, Maurice-----	Opposite 1963, 1966
Sutherland, Elizabeth-----	1860-1864, 1867, 1868, 1887
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Taylor, Pauline-----	1966
Thomas, Leona-----	2041
Thomas, Norman-----	2019
Thompson, E. P-----	1872
Thompson, John B-----	1961
Thorp, Anne-----	1850, 1886
Toch, Hans-----	Opposite 1963
Tokar, Louis-----	Opposite 1963
Tompkins, Alva-----	1850
Travis, Helen (also known as Maxine Levi; Helen Levi Simon)-----	1839, 1881
Travis, Robert C-----	1966
Tremols, Jose G-----	1841, 1992-1997 (testimony)
Trigg, Charles Young-----	1961
Trotsky, Lev (Leon) (born Lev Davidovich Bronstein)-----	1839, 1881
Truman, Harry S-----	Opposite 1963, 1967
Turner, Jeanette A. (Mrs. Jacob Turner; nee Stern)-----	1966

U

Uphaus, Ola H. (Mrs. Willard Uphaus)-----	1954
Uphaus, Willard-----	1936, 1937, 1953, 1954, 1959-1961, 1966, 2018
Urey, Harold C-----	1964-1967

V

Vandendreschd, Jacques Mornard (also known as Frank Jacson)-----	1881
Van Kleeck, Mary-----	1966
Vasquez, Frank-----	1969
Velez, Clemente Soto. (<i>See</i> Soto Velez, Clemente.)-----	
Vickers, Gerald A-----	1969
Viereck, (George Sylvester)-----	1846
Vincent, Clara M-----	1966

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Walker, James-----	1966
Walker, Moses S-----	Opposite 1963
Warden, Charles L-----	1969
Warren, Susan (Mrs. Richard Frank; nee Susan Mildred Heiligman)-----	2042
Washburn, Alfred H-----	1966
Wasser, William Campbell-----	1966
Waterman, Leroy-----	1966
Waterman, Samuel B-----	1966
Watts, Daniel-----	1937
Weinstock, Louis-----	2044
Weisberger, Stanley E-----	Opposite 1963
Weise, Myer-----	2042
Weiss, Paul-----	Opposite 1963
Wellman, Lowell-----	1966
Wesley, David-----	1937, 1949, opposite 1963
Wester, Jacob J-----	1969
Weston, Ross A-----	1850
White, Benny-----	1969
White, Eliot-----	Opposite 1963, 1966
White, Inez-----	1969
Whitman, John Pratt-----	1954
Wild, John-----	1961
Willcox, Bertram F-----	1966
Willcox, Henry-----	Opposite 1963
William, A. P-----	Opposite 1963
Williams, Aubrey-----	1850
Williams, David Rhys-----	1850, 1886
Willoughby, George-----	Opposite 1963
Wilson, H. H-----	1850, 1884
Wingate, Roy M-----	1966
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Woodbury, Frank T.....	1894
Worley, Loyd F.....	1937
Worthy, William.....	1854, 1855, 1861, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1877, 1878, 1923, 1933
Wrage, Ernest J.....	1850

Y

Yachnes, Harold.....	1969
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A

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Air France (airline).....	1912-1914, 1919
Amalgamated Bank of New York.....	1916, 1917, 1952, 1953
American Friends of Spanish Democracy:	
Medical Bureau.....	1838, 1893, 1894
American Peace Crusade:	
New York Peace Council.....	1970
Andrew Sisters Gospel Singers.....	1973
Appolos, The (quartet).....	1973
Archie Shepp Jazz Quartet.....	1973

B

Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, Local 1 (New York).....	2041
British Government:	
Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in British Guiana.....	1842, 2025
Bronx Fair Play for Cuba Committee. (<i>See</i> Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Bronx chapter.)	
Brooklyn Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act.....	1969
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Camp Midvale (New Jersey).....	1935, 1943, 1944, 1953
Canadian Peace Council.....	2018, 2032, 2044
Chemical Bank New York Trust Co.....	1943, 1944, 1956
Chicago Medical Aid to Cuba Committee (<i>see also</i> Medical Aid to Cuba Committee).....	1839, 1889
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (British Guiana).....	2019
Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties.....	1968
Columbia University (New York City).....	1973
Comite Puertorriqueno pro Democracia Dominicana (San Juan, Puerto Rico).....	2041
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Committee for Non-Violent Action.....	1884
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Eighth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship. (<i>See</i> World Youth Festivals, Eighth Youth Festival.)	
Eli Lilly & Co. (Indianapolis, Ind.).....	1991
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.....	1839, 1942, opposite 1963-1964
E. R. Squibb & Sons (Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.).....	1991, 1994

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Faculty of Social Science, The.....	1843, 2042-2044
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Flynn Christian Fellowship Houses (Baltimore, Md.).....	1973
Friends of British Guiana.....	1837, 1841-1843, 1845, 1846, 1957, 2003-2045

G

Garment Committee for a Good Neighbor Policy (Provisional).....	1935
Guardian Library, The (British Guiana).....	2012, 2026, 2044

H

Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.).....	1973
Hospital Nacional (Havana, Cuba).....	1874,
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Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	1961
Local 6 (New York).....	2041

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Inter-continental Student Service Committee (Chicago, Ill.).....	1973
Interfaith Committee for Peace Action.....	1960, 1961
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.....	2019
International Union of Revolutionary Writers (<i>see also</i> League of American Writers).....	2024

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Lederle Laboratories Division (American Cyanamid Co.) (New York).....	1991, 2001
Liberacion Publishing Association.....	2039
Liberation Committee for Africa.....	1937
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International.....	2041
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Monthly Review Associates.....	1874, 1875, 2008, 2009
Mutualista Obrera Puertarrriquena.....	2041

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National Assembly for Democratic Rights.....	1839, 1964-1968
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) ..	2041
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.:	
Ohio.....	1973
National Hospital, Havana, Cuba. (<i>See</i> Hospital Nacional, Havana, Cuba.)	
National Maritime Union.....	2025, 2026, 2041
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New York Youth Council.....	2041
North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.....	1894

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Pan American Airways.....	1904
Parke-Davis & Co.....	1994
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Protestant Committee for Latin America.....	2041
Public Workers of America, United.....	2041

S

School of Living (Santa Cruz, Calif.).....	1973
Sharp & Dohme. (<i>See</i> entry under Merck & Co.)	
Simon and Schuster (publishers).....	1868
Sons and Daughters of Panama.....	2041
Squibb & Sons. (<i>See</i> E. R. Squibb & Sons.)	
Stanford University (Stanford, Calif.).....	1973
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.....	1937

T

Tennessee Council on Human Relations.....	1973
Trade Union Leadership Council (Detroit).....	1973
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West Side Committee for Friendly Relations with Cuba.....	1854, 1932
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World Health Organization:	
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Pan American Medical Congress (1962, Minneapolis, Minn.).....	1962
World Youth Festivals:	
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United States Festival Committee.....	1973

PUBLICATIONS

Ahora.....	2035-2038
Baltimore American.....	1858
Bulletin of the League of American Writers, The.....	2023
Catholic Worker, The.....	1884
Churchman, The.....	1884
Liberación.....	2037-2039
Monthly Review (magazine).....	1842, 1870, 1871, 2005, 2009
Nation, The.....	1884, 1927
National Guardian.....	1842, 1928
Salt of the Earth (film).....	1882
San Francisco Sun-Reporter.....	1884
Spectator (Columbia University publication).....	1973
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